

Early Aryans to Swaraj

6

MEDIEVAL INDIA



S.R. BAKSHI • S. GAJRANI • HARI SINGH

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Volume – 6

Medieval India

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Preface

This encyclopaedic study is a comprehensive survey of Indian history which has been dealt with three major parts. The Part I deals with the ancient history of our civilisation, culture, art, administration and rulers at various stages. Commencing with the Aryan era, it ends with the Rajput supremacy including various aspects of Buddhism, Jainism, Mauryas, Kushans, Gupta rulers and Rajput dynasty. Their achievements have been highlighted in several ways. The expansion of their empire and new innovations in administration are their unique achievements.

In Part II we have collected the material from several academic institutions, viz., Delhi University Library, Sapru House Library, Nehru Memorial Musium and Literacy, Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library Sahitya Akademic Library and Jamia Millia Islamia Library. We have also sought academic help from the writing of eminent social scientists: we feel much beholden to them.

The second series of volumes have deep learning on Medieval India which commences with the dawn of Muslim rule in our sub-continent. The slave dynasty, Khiljis, Tughluqs, the Mughals including Babur, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, Sher Shah Suri and his dynasty, the Marathas and the downfall of Mughal Empire have been included in these volumes.

In Part II we have collected the material from several academic institutions, viz, the Sapru House Library, Indian Council of Historical

Research Library, Sahitya Akademi Library, Central Secretariat Library, Delhi University Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and Jawaharlal Nehru University Library. We have used the relevant material from the writings of eminent social scientists and for this academic support we feel much beholden to them.

The third series of this Encyclopaedia have deep bearing on the British rule in our sub-continent which continued upto 1947. The early foreign powers like Portuguese, French, Dutch and the British had to struggle for several decades, but ultimately the British were successful in establishing their supremacy in west India, South India, East India, Central India and North-West of India.

Part II Indeed the East India Company's rule continued upto 1857 when the administration was transferred to the British Government, directly responsible to the Home Government in England.

With the passage of time there were dramatic political developments for about ten decades. The foundation of Indian National Congress in 1885, the passage of institutional Acts in 1909 and 1919, the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the political scene of India in the second year of the global war, the Champaran Satyagraha, the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, the Non-Cooperation Movement, the Council-entry programme, the Linon Commission, the Lahore Congress in 1929 and the Complete independence programme, the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Constitutional Act of 1935, formation of provincial ministries, the Quit India Movement, Subhas Chandra Bose and the role of INA, role of Muslim League, the Cabinet mission and partition of India in 1947 have been highlighted.

We have collected the material from several academic centres, viz, Sapru House Library, Delhi University Library, Jamia Millia Islamia Library, Central Secretariat Library, Indian Council of Historical Research Library, Sahitya Akademi Library, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and Jawaharlal Nehru University Library. We have used the relevant useful material from the writings of eminent historians in order to fill up some gaps in the draft. We feel much beholden to these social scientists.

We are thankful to our publisher. Who has shown much promptness and keenness in publication of these volumes without any delay.

EDITORS

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1

Sultan Mahmud

I

The review of the political condition of India will make it clear that when Pratihara Rajyapala, son of Vijayapala, ascended the throne of Kanauj in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., India presented the same political features as inevitably followed the disruption of a mighty empire. The Pratihara rule was practically confined to Kanauj and its neighbourhood, while the rest of North India was divided among rival independent kingdom fighting with one another. As so often happened in the past, a political re-adjustment would probably have taken place sooner or later, if the Indian States were left to themselves. But this was not to be. Just when the military strength of North India had been exhausted by the age long struggle for supremacy among the great powers, and before as yet the country had time to take its breath, an Islamic power appeared in the west, and changed the whole situation. The States that were fighting for supremacy were all involved in a common ruin.

About 933 A.D. Alptigin, a Turkish slave of the Samani kings, had carved an independent principality in the Soleiman Hills round Ghazni. The kingdom passed on, some time after his death, to one of his Turkish slave' named Sabuktigin about 77 A.D. He claimed to be descended from the last ruler of Persia, but his family came to be regarded as Turk on account of long residence in Turkistan. In his early life Sabuktigin was taken prisoner and sold as a slave to Alptigin. But by dint of his ability he rose high in office and married the daughter of Alptigin. After the death of the latter chaos and confusion followed, and Sabuktigin took advantage of it to seize the throne. His accession

was approved by the Samani king to whom he still paid nominal allegiance.

Immediately after his accession Sabuktigin extended his kingdom on all sides by conquering the neighbouring States. Jayapala, the Shahi King who, as already related, ruled over extensive territories from the Hakra river in the east to the mountains of Kabul in the west, did not like the rise of a strong Mohammedan power so near his borders. But when Sabuktigin led several expeditions into his kingdom he could not tolerate it any longer and invaded the new kingdom. The two armies met near Jelalabad, but before there was any engagement, a furious thunderstorm broke out, and induced Jayapala to retreat, after concluding a treaty with Sabuktigin. Once safely back in his kingdom Jayapala refused to observe the treaty. This brought about exactly what Jayapala had hitherto sought to prevent, and Sabuktigin assembled an army with a view to invade India. Jayapala, who foresaw the danger of a Mohammedan invasion long ago, did not underrate its gravity, and asked for the assistance of other Indian chiefs to save the honour of their motherland. The appeal was immediately responded to by the king of Kanauj, as well as the Chahamanas and Chandella kings.

As has already been related, the Islamic forces had obtained a footing in India as early as the eighth century A.D. They however, failed to make any lasting impression beyond the territory of Sindh. This was mainly due to the Pratiharas, who had stood as a bulwark against the aggression of the Muslims ever since their first raids into India proper. Nagabhata, the founder of the dynasty, owed his greatness to a successful campaign against them early in the 8th century A.D., when they seemed to carry everything before them. During the following period, when the power of the Pratiharas was at its highest, they were looked upon as the greatest enemies of the Mohammedan faith. Masudi says that while the Rashtrakutas were friends of the Mohammedans, the Gurjara king of Kanauj was constantly at war with them. As a matter of fact, the Muslim rulers of Multan could save themselves only by holding out the threat that if they were attacked they would destroy the famous image of the Sun-god of that place revered all over India. With the decline of the Pratiharas no power was left strong enough to oppose a successful resistance to the aggressions of Islam, and when the Ghaznavid kings seized this favourable opportunity to push forward the outpost of Islam into the heart of India, Jayapala, the king immediately affected, could only send a piteous

appeal to the powerful chiefs of India. The Pratihara king of Kanauj, though shorn of power and dignity, remembered the proud role his family had played, and when the call of duty came about 991 A.D., he joined the confederacy that Jayapala had formed against his Mohammedan foe, along with his whilom vassal chiefs of the Chahamanas and the Chandellas. The imperial banner of the Pratiharas was unfurled in the valley of the Kurram river in far distant Afghanistan in defence of faith and country. But although the river was dyed red with the blood of hundreds and thousands of Indian patriots, Sabuktigin gained the day and made himself master of all the territories up to the Sindhu.

Sabuktigin died in 997 A.D. His son Mahmud had been appointed governor of Khurasan, a rich province in eastern Persia, by the Samani kings who had at last been reconciled to the new dynasty. Sabuktigin nominated his younger son Ismail for the throne of Ghazni, and the latter caused himself to be proclaimed as king immediately after his father's death. But he was defeated by Mahmud, who conquered Ghazni and declared himself king. About this time anarchy and confusion in the Samani State enabled Mahmud to throw off his allegiance to that power. He received investiture from the Caliph and assumed the title of Sultan, indicating his independent sovereignty. The Caliph also conferred upon him the title Yamin-ud-Daullah from which his family is known as the Yamini dynasty.

Mahmud was undoubtedly the first soldier of his age. Master of extensive territories from the Sindhu to the heart of Persia, he determined to pursue the aggressive policy of his father on a much bigger scale, and marched towards India with 10,000 chosen horse. The old king Jayapala met his adversary near Peshawar, but was defeated and taken prisoner, and Mahmud pursued his march beyond the Sutlej. Although Jayapala was released on promise of paying tribute, he did not choose to survive the disgrace, and burnt himself to death in a pyre which he set on fire with his own hands.

What followed took the breath of India away. Year after year Mahmud repeated his incursions into India. He directed his march against a notable place, plundered everything that fell on his way, destroyed the temples within his reach, and returned home, laden with booty, with the supreme satisfaction of advancing his own religion by the destruction of the image of Hindu gods. He was out for ruthless devastation of territories and the desecration of temples. He did not

care so much for establishing an empire in India, but his ambition was satisfied by plundering her rich treasures and breaking the images of her numerous temples.

But the Indians were not insensible to the danger which threatened their country and religion. Anandapala, the son and successor of Jayapala, had organised a confederacy in which the kings of the principal States of western and central India took part. The old king Rajyapala of Kanauj, true to the traditions his family, joined the holy war, and the Chandellas also took prominent part in it. The immense host, the largest Indian army, that had yet taken the field in defence of their faith and country, boldly advanced into enemy's territories. It was the last desperate struggle for Indian's freedom and so well was this understood, and so profoundly did the sacred cause impress the heart of India, that not only continents daily came from far and near to augment the immense host, but even, "Hindus women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments and sent their contributions from a distance to furnish resources for this holy war." The only notable power in Northern India that did not join this great national movement was the Pala king Mahipala of Bengal who was too much involved in troubles at home to think of sending an army abroad.

But with this one notable exception, the sons of Aryavarta nobly responded to the call of their motherland, and for once falsified the charge that modern historians have brought against them *viz.* Lack of union and patriotism at the time of a national crisis.

Sultan Mahmud did not underrate the strength of his enemy; but he was a hero of hundred fights, and the courage and military genius that enabled him to rout the innumerable host of Ilak Khan, king of the whole of Tartary up to the walls of China, did not fail him at this critical moment. With the true instincts of a general, he did not risk everything by a general assault, but took up a defensive position near Peshawar and fortified it by means of trenches. His plan was to provoke the Indians to attack his entrenched camp so that his deficiency in numbers might be made up by the strength of his position. For once in his life he made a miscalculation. The Indians attacked the camp with "astonishing fury", and cut down horse and rider till three to four thousand men of Mahmud were killed in the first charge.

Napoleon once said that it is not *the men* but *a man* that decides the fate of a battle. Never was the truth of this dictum more fully demonstrated. Mahmud, undaunted by these reverses, kept discipline

in his army and calmly surveyed the situation, while the Indian army, flushed with success, did not maintain either order or discipline. The Indian general himself took part in the melee, while one of those unfortunate incidents, that have again and again decided the fate of Indian battles, snatched away this victory from his grasp. The elephant on which he was mounted took fright and fled from the battlefield. The Indians lost heart at what they took to be the desertion of their general, and the fury of their charge abated. The keen eye of Sultan Mahmud at once detected the true situation, and he charged home with 10,000 select horse. The Indians dispersed in all directions but the Sultan would give them no quarter. It was then a pure butchery, and twenty thousand Indians lay dead on the field. In spite of the stubborn bravery of the Indian soldiers, the day was lost on account of bad generalship.

The Sultan followed up his victory by the plunder of Nagarkot. There was no garrison to protect it as they had joined the late wars, and "700,000 golden *dinars*, 700 *mans* of gold and silver plate, 200 *mans* of pure gold in ingots, 2000 *mans* of unwrought silver, and twenty *mans* of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds and rubies," fell into his hands.

Henceforth, the Sultan hardly met with any opposition worth the name in his periodical excursions into India. Altogether seventeen expeditions are set to his credit, all characterised by massacre, plunder, devastation, and desecration, of temples. Two of these were directed against the imperial city of Kanauj which exceeded all others in splendour and magnificence. Rajyapala tired in vain to check Mahmud in the frontier of his kingdom, and unable to defend his capital with his small following, crossed over to Bari on the other side of the Ganga, about 30 miles to the east of Kanauj. The Sultan captured the seven forts that guarded Kanauj and then massacre and plunder were let loose on the fair city (1019 A.D.). Next year he captured Bari and then proceeded against the Chandella king, but could not gain much success. Jayapala II, the successor of Anandapala, opposed him and the Sultan annexed the whole of the Punjab to his kingdom.

The last important expedition of Mahmud was directed against the celebrated temple of Somnath. It was included within the dominions of the Chaulukyas. It is a sad reflection on the Indian kings in general, and the Chaulukya king Durlabharaja, son of Chamundaraja, in particular, that at the very moment when North India was crumbling

before the hard knocks of Sultan Mahmud, they should have quarrel among themselves over a bride in a *Svayambara* ceremony. For when Durlabharaja won the hands of a Chahamanana princess in such a ceremony, he had to fight with a number of Indian rulers who were disappointed suitors. He also dissipated his energy in conquering Lata. He abdicated the throne in 1022 A.D. in favour of his nephew Bhimadeva I. At the news of Sultan Mahmud's approach Bhima fled to Cutuch. The Sultan occupied the capital city Anahilapataka and then proceeded towards Somnath where he arrived early in 1025 A.D. The guards of the temple, though deserted by their cowardly leader who fled, offered a brave resistance, and for three days repulsed the Muslim hordes from the walls of the city. In the battle that ensued, the Mohammedan army was almost beaten back, but the stubborn courage and superior skill of Mahmud reversed the fortunes of the day. When the Sultan entered the temple over the dead bodies of its fifty thousand defenders he was struck with awe at the grandeur and magnificence of the structure. The priests of the temple implored him to protect the image and even wanted to pay a handsome ransom. The reply of the Sultan was characteristic of the man. He said that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and with his own hand broke the image, probably a Sivalinga, to pieces. The treasures which the Sultan secured at this place were incalculable and are said to have exceeded all his former captures. On its way back to Ghazni, the Sultan's army suffered great miseries in the desert of Rajputana. It is said that a priest of Somnath, in order to avenge its destruction, assumed the role of a guide to Mahmud's army and lured it to what he thought would be a sure destruction. The Sultan, however, extricated his army and reached Ghazni in safety. His attention was now drawn to the western territories and he conquered the greater part of Persia. Soon after this brilliant achievement the Sultan died at Ghazni in A.D. 1030.

Sultan Mahmud was undoubtedly one of the greatest military genius that the world has ever seen. His cool courage, prudence, resourcefulness and many other good qualities of head and heart command universal respect and admiration. But in spite of all these, the historian of India cannot regard Mahmud save as a freebooter of the worst type. He drained the country of its enormous wealth and brought incalculable misery upon its inhabitants. His ferocity and avarice knew no bounds and his religious zeal, bordering on fanaticism, led him to violate wantonly the most sacred sentiments of a great

people. We miss in him that dignified idealism which seldom fails to impart a grace and charm even to the most ruthless conqueror. His imagination was not fired even by the ambition of founding an empire to which the common consent of all ages and nations has attached something of a noble and generous impulse. From first to last his Indian policy was inspired merely by the primitive instincts of plunder, devastation, massacre and desecration.

It is too often assumed that the invasions of Sultan Mahmud had no permanent results, so far as India was concerned. Nothing can be a greater mistake. He terribly drained the military and economic resources of the country, and the Muslim occupation of the Punjab served as the key to unlock the gate of Indian empire. Big cracks had already been made therein and it was no longer a question of whether but when that mighty structure would fall.

II

We now come to the crowning event in the idol-breaking and plundering career of Mahmud, the expedition of Somnath. Somnath was famous then as a great Siva shrine described in detail in the Skanda Purana of the 9th century A.D. and also mentioned by Al-Beruni both as a sacred place and a resort of pirates. Mahmud certainly would think of attacking Somnath and plundering it of its fabulous riches. Unfortunately, we have no mention of this expedition, the highest achievement of Mahmud, in the work of Utbi though he lived upto 420 H. (1029 A.D.), *i.e.* four years after this event. Nor does Rashiduddin who wrote more than two centuries later mention the Somnath expedition, or Hamidulla Mustafi who followed him twenty years later (E. II, pp. 430-431). The first description is found in Ibn Asir and later writers have only embellished his account (E. II, p. 468). And there is no mention whatever of this great calamity which overtook Gujarat in the palmy days of the Solankhi rulers whose account is fully given by many Gujarat Jain and Hindu chroniclers from the time of the founder Mularaja who came to the throne of Anhilwad, as will be shown latter on, in 961, sixteen years before Sabuktigin. We do not also find the slightest hint about this calamity in any inscription found upto this time. Under these circumstances one is disposed to doubt whether this expedition was actually undertaken by Mahmud in distant Gujarat where he must have arrived after traversing a wide desert. Yet considering that Hindu writers would be loth to mention this disaster to one of their greatest gods and kings and that writers though writing

centuries after the event had certain Moslem accounts before them and are not likely to invent a Wholly imaginary story, we give the account given by Ibn Asir from the extract from his work given in (Elliot II, p. 469).

We may at the outset state that this account, exaggerated as it must be, still more increased in the marvellous element in later writers who added imaginary stories to it, chiefly from a desire to heighten the religious greatness of Mahmud. The story, for instance—a story told by even Gibbon—that immense treasure was concealed within the idol of Somnath, that Brahmins offered as ransom several crores of rupees to Mahmud which his generals advised him to accept and that Mahmud refused saying that he would like to be known on the judgement day as an idol-breaker and not as an idol-seller is a fabrication of some, one, if not of Firishta himself. Wilson, as quoted by Elliot (II, p. 476) commenting on this embellishment of the story of Somnath, observed “The earlier Mohammedan writers say nothing of the mutilation of the features of the idol, for in fact, it had none; nor of treasure it contained which as it was solid, could not have been within it. Firishta invents the hidden treasure of rubies and pearls, with quite as little warrant.” This story is plainly absurd, as the linga of Somnath must have been a solid block of stone. Similarly the story that Mahmud was led into a waterless desert by a treacherous Hindu guide and that Mahmud eventually by prayer was able to find water, as also the story that Mahmud wished to remain in Gujarat as it was a fertile country possessing gold mines but was induced to give up this idea on the representation of ministers that Khorasan was the country inherited from his father and the best for him to live in, are incredible. The story of Dabshilim a recluse and a relative of the fugitive king, being entrusted with the government of the country when Mahmud retired from it is strange and unbelievable, though it has been suggested that he was an uncle of Bhima the reigning monarch of Gujarat at this time, who had indeed retired and who lived on the bank of the Serasvati as a recluse.

Elliot has given extracts from many historians relating to this expedition which the curious reader may refer to, if necessary, but we do not think it necessary to summarise their accounts as they are mere embellishments of the story first given by Ibn Asir which is itself an exaggerated account. We, however, give this account in short. “The idol of Somnath was the greatest in India to which people came,

especially on lunar eclipse heights. Souls of men went to this place, it was believed, when separated from the body. The temple was endowed with 10,000 villages (?). Water from the distant Ganges was daily brought with which the idol was washed. One thousand Brahmins performed the worship of the idol and introduced the visitors. Three hundred persons were engaged in shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred women sang and danced at the gate of the temple. (Female singers and dancers, in ancient times, danced before Siva idols as described by Kalidasa in *Meghaduts*, a custom still prevailing in Siva temples in the south, such as the Mangesa temple in Goa territory.) It was believed that Somnath was displeased with the idols of Hind for not opposing Mahmud who, when he heard this, resolved upon breaking the Somnath idol and proving to the Hindus that their gods were false and that they might embrace the true faith.

So he left Ghazni with 30,000 horse, on the 10th of Shaban 414 H. (1023), besides volunteers and reached Multan in the middle of Ramjan. Taking water and corn on 30,000 camels he started for Anhilwad through the desert. The chief of that town Bhima fled for safety to a fort (named Kandana by later writers and probably Kanthad in Cutch). Mahmud passed on to Somnath (it is not described anywhere that Anhilwad was captured and plundered) through a desert. He came to Dabalwarh, a place ten days journey from Somnath. The people stayed there believing that Somnath would destroy Mahmud. But Mahmud took the place, plundered it and slaying the people marched on the Somnath.

He arrived at Somnath on a Thursday in the middle of Zilkad, and beheld a strong fortress on the sea-shore washed by the waves. The people of the fort were on the walls laughing at the Moslems and telling them that their deity would destroy them all. On Friday, the Moslems advanced to the assault and the Hindus fled. The Moslems scaling the walls with ladders entered and fearful slaughter ensued. A body of Hindus entered the temple, cast themselves on the ground before the idol and implored him to grant them victory.

Next morning the battle was renewed and the Mohammendans drove the Hindus to the temple. A dreadful slaughter took place at the gate of the temple. Bands of Hindus would enter the temple and weeping and clasping their hands would entreat the idol, then issuing forth would fight until they were slain. Some took to the sea in boats but they were attacked there and were either killed or drowned.

The temple of Somnath was built upon fifty-six pillars of wood covered with lead. The idol itself was in a chamber and was five cubits in height and three in girth and must have been two cubits hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of having been sculptured. Mahmud seized the idol, part of it he burnt and part sent to Ghazni, where it was made a step at the entrance of the Jami Masjid. The shrine of the idol was dark but it was lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were attached which were rung every watch hour to rouse Brahmins to worship. The treasury was near and in it were many idols of gold and silver, and veils set with jewels of immense value. The worth of the whole plunder exceeded two million dinars and the number of the slain exceeded fifty thousand (E. II, pp. 469-471).

This is an account simple and credible enough. The Brahmins or perhaps Rajputs made a frantic resistance at the temple itself only to be slain. But the ruler of Gujarat Bhima could have made a stubborn resistance before Somnath. He could have brought into the field a greater army even, consisting of cavalry, than that of Mahmud if he had been but true to his name and the Rajput character. But it must be remembered that Mahmud's prestige by this time as a conqueror, had by his constant success, risen to its highest pitch like that of Napoleon who himself was latterly looked upon as equal to one lakh of men. But even Napoleon was stubbornly opposed by the Germans and the English at the battle of Waterloo. The Hindu character, as stated already, lacks in stubbornness under unfavourable circumstances and it is no wonder that Bhima took refuge in a fort in Cutch. After taking Somnath, Mahmud is said to have attacked him there, though he was impeded by the water of the Runi of Cutch and passing it was dangerous in consequence of the possible rise of water at tide time. Bhima, when he saw the conqueror coming, fled even from there. Mahmud returned to Ghazni via Sind through the desert by a more westerly course where he knew water was available and where he could not have been deceived by treacherous Hindu guides. He was troubled extremely by the pirates of the Indus who are supposed to have belonged to the Jats country.* By a subsequent expedition against these Jats, Mahmud gave them condign punishment.

* Mahmud in 1024 while returning from Somnath is said to have been harassed by the Jats of the Salt range but these Jats must have belonged to the Lower Indus (Jhelum Gazetteer, p. 83).

Mahmud is said to have come to Somnath via Multan through the desert by an easterly course taking Ajmer and Anhilwad on the way and returned via Cutch, Sind and Multan conquering Mansura on the way, as he feared that "Paramaradeva of Malwa (Bhoja) who was preparing to attack him would intercept him as he returned." Probably he was afraid of losing the great plunder he had obtained, in a possible conflict with the Hindus.

Note: Somnath

Somnath Patan or town of Somnath is situated on the west coast of Kathiawar and is at present under Junagadh. The place was visited in 1843 by a traveller and described in J.R.A.S. VIII, p. 173. "The old temple is in ruins and a new temple has been built by Ahilyabai near the site of the old. But the extreme grandeur of the old temple is visible ever in the ruins now remaining." This old temple according to our view was the one built by Siddharaja Jayasinha and Kumarapala and the temple which was destroyed by Mahmud was probably the one built by Bhoja. Paramara of Malwa as stated in one of their inscriptions to be noted in Paramara history. The building of Bhoja was probably of wood as stated by Mohammedan historians. This building must probably have been erected before 1026 A.D. The building of a new stone temple was undertaken by Jayasinha of Anhilwad and completed by Kumarapala as is evident not only from Gujarat chroniclers but from an inscription in a temple in Somnath Patan which will be noticed in the history of Anhilwad. This Bhadrakali temple Prasasti dated 1169 A.D. is very interesting and begins with the description of a Brahmin from Benares who appears to have undertaken the rehabilitation of temples (probably destroyed by Mahmud) fallen into ruin and he travelled on this meritorious mission throughout India and came to Somnath after visiting Ujjain. This mention of the sage Brahmin's facts corroborates in our view to some extent the story told by later Mohammedan writers about Mahmud's expedition to Somnath and the description of the temple by them. It is expressly stated that the temple was now built of stones. This temple was destroyed by the Mohammedan kings of Gujarat in the fourteenth century. The story that Mahmud removed the sandal gates of the temple of Somnath to Ghazni has not been credited by modern scholars and the gates which were brought by the English in 1843 after their conquest of Afghanistan are lying unnoticed in the fort at Agra (Sardesia).

We may mention that there is a reference to Somnath in the *Bostan* of Sadi and he relates a queer story which is probably a concoction of his own. Sadi in his extensive travels came to Somnath and saw there an ivory idol surmounted with precious jewels beautifully arranged, seated on a golden chair set on a throne of teakwood. The Brahmin pujari had a contrivance by which the idol would raise its hand. Sadi discovered the contrivance by accident when the Brahmin fled pursued by the deceived indignant Sadi who even killed him. Sadi fearing vengeance of the Brahmins fled the country. This story is clearly an invention, for Sadi would not have been allowed even to approach the idol, much less to go behind it. Moreover, it is not probably allowed that idols should be made of ivory. To the historian, however this reference by Sadi to Somnath is remarkable as it makes on mention of Mahmud's invasion of Somnath and the breaking of the famous idol of Siva there. One would naturally expect some illusion to that event. This omission strengthens the doubt which is entertained sometimes about the truth of Mahmud's expedition of Somnath. Sadi who was born in 1175 A.D. must have visited India when about 40 years old *i.e.* about 1215, and he wrote his *Bostan* when 80 years of age *i.e.* about 1255 A.D. Delhi was already on both dates under the Mohammedans, though Gujarat was not. And the first writer to describe the expedition to Somnath is Ibn Asir who wrote about 1270 A.D. at the earliest. But after all, omission to mention a fact unless that mention is unavoidable or imperatively necessary is doubtful evidence and we cannot rely upon it and hold that Mahmud's expedition to Somnath is not imaginary.

Idolatry of the Hindus

We may pause here a little and reflect upon the superstitious debasement of idolatry into which the Hindus had drifted at this time. It indeed seems to us that the iconoclastic inroads of Mahmud had come upon the Hindus as an eye-opener and as a chastisement. Unfortunately, the Hindus did not then take the lesson which these disasters taught them nor have they learnt it even now. This is not a place to enter into the question whether idol-worship is countenanced by the Vedas or whether it is reasonable. There is no the smallest doubt, however, that idol-worship is accepted by Hinduism and perhaps properly accepted as leading to concentration of the mind on the deity. But idol-worship almost always leads the human mind into some superstitious beliefs, especially to the belief that the idol itself possesses the powers of the deity it represents. Belief in the miraculous powers of idols

prevailed in ancient times throughout all countries and prevails to this day wherever idol-worship is practised. Buddhism began with almost the denial of the Deity and drifted later into rampant idolatry viz. the worship of the Buddha himself and however learned and philosophic Hiuen Tsang may be, he believed in the miraculous powers of Buddha's relics and Buddha's idols. Hindus too amongst whom idolatry was already prevalent to a certain extent and who became still more idolatrous through the example of Buddhism which they supplanted believed to such an extent in the miraculous powers and sanctity of certain idols that the Pratihara emperors of Kanauj, though powerful enough to capture Multan, were always held back by the threat of the Mohammedan possessors of Multan that if the Hindus advanced they would break the famous sun-idol of Multan. Even in the west the Romans and the Greeks who were in advance of other peoples in philosophy believed in the miraculous powers of certain idols. And Christianity in the beginning preached the formless God and often progressed among the pagans by actually proving to the world that no such miraculous powers existed. The frantic but unavailing prayers of the worshippers of Somnath to destroy the sacrilegious conqueror remind us of a similar spectacle at Alexandria about six hundred years before at the demolishing of the idol of Serapis by the order of the emperor. Theodosius (389 A.D.), so graphically described by Gibbon. "Alexandria which claimed his peculiar protection gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capital was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mound raised one hundred feet above the level of the city. The sacrifices of the pagans prohibited by Theodosius were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis owing to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves as they fared to abolish these rites which alone could secure the inundation of the Nile, the harvests of Egypt and the subsistence of Constantinople. But at length an explicit order from Theodosius arrived to demolish the temple and the idol. A great number of plates of different metals artificially joined together composed the majestic figure of the deity which touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. He held in the right hand an emblematic monster, the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails terminated by the heads of a dog, a lion and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed that if an impious hand should move to offend the majesty of the god, the heavens and the earth would instantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid soldier armed with a battle-axe ascended

a ladder and even the Christian multitude expected with anxiety the result of the combat. He aimed a vigorous blow against the cheek of Serapis and the cheek fell to the ground; but the heavens and the earth continued to preserve their accustomed order and tranquillity. The victorious soldier repeated his blows and the limbs of Serapis broken into pieces were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. The Nile, though late, with its usual flood fertilized the plains of Egypt and falsified the prediction of false prophets. Many attributed their conversion to this impotence of the tutelary deity of Alexandria."

Gibbon moralises here upon the inadvisability of staking the truth of a religion on the miraculous powers of idols which are but pieces of stone, metal or wood. And yet Christianity itself like Buddhism, later drifted into the same superstitious idolatry which it had exposed, in the worship of idols of Jesus and Mary and Mohammedanism arose almost as a natural consequence to correct this error. The iconoclastic expeditions of Mahmud were similarly an eye-opener to the Hindus to correct their erroneous belief in the miraculous power of idols. But they also came to correct another error *viz.* the natural but absurd impulse to dedicate riches to temples and to decorate idols with gold and jewels. This added to the religious zeal of idol-breaking Mohammedans the further motive of greed for the gold and the jewels. Wherein is the merit of making idols of entire gold or of decorating them with priceless jewels? Dose an idol of five cubits height of pure gold contribute more powerfully to the concentration of the mind on the deity than a stone idol? The old teachers of the Hindu religion prescribed small unworked stones in their natural shape as the proper *Pratikas* or idols of the four gods Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa and the Sun while Vedic Rishis were content with concentrating their mind on the sun itself and the wind. But the human mind cannot but descend into the superstitious desire first of having finished idols and then of having idols of gold and silver or of decorating them with precious jewels. Siva worship indeed in selecting the linga as an idol selected natural blocks of stone. And yet prosperous kings who were worshippers of these Swayambhu or natural lingas adorned them with crowns of gold covered with diamonds and rubies, thus tempting robbers and even avaricious kings or conquerors and even priests and thereby themselves causing the desecration of temples and the sacrilege of idols. Indian history is full of the mention of the building of new temples or of new rich endowments of temples by

prosperous kings in every kingly line and specially holy places such as Mathura, Kot-Kangra, Somnath or Ujjain were overflowing with rich donations of hundreds of pious kings and thousands of rich merchants. All these riches might have been differently employed, the historian and politician will observe, in the maintenance of strong armies by kings and the amelioration of the people by rich merchants. Both were apparently neglected and temples were enriched and idols sumptuously decorated doubly accelerating the fall of the country by whetting the appetite, and strengthening the resources, of the foreign conqueror on the one side and weakening the power of resistance of our own kings and people on the other. But the Hindus did not learn these obvious lessons from these iconoclastic and plundering expeditions of Mahmud and they continued to build temples and accumulate riches in them. It may finally be observed that Hindus are not still alive to the two errors into which idol-worship when it degenerates into superstition descends viz. the belief of the miraculous powers of particular idols and the belief in the merit of donating riches to temples and idols leading to the demoralization of Mahants and pujaris.

It is curious to observe that human nature usually leads men to the same actions. Mahmud, the breaker of idols and the plunderer of temples expended his acquisitions on the Juma mosque of Ghazni and used the gold, the rubies and the diamonds obtained from Hindu idols, in decorating its walls, by the same impulse of the human mind as had actuated the Hindus. He thus created the temptation which had impelled him, for others coming after him and history records that this mosque was probably plundered of its rich decorations by the idolators of Chin. Changiskhan whose desecration of the Jami Masjid of Bokhara is described at length in *Jahan Kusha* of Juwaini (Elliot II, p. 388) and whose doings at Bokhara were described by a fugitive in one pithy sentence in Persian. "The Moguls came, dug, burnt, slaughtered, plundered and departed." Came to Ghazni on his return from the pursuit of Jalalluddin in 618 H (1226 A.D.), ordered all the inhabitants to be brought out of the city and counted, and after selecting artisans from among them, directed all the rest to be slain. He also destroyed the city and Ogtai returned towards Herat after burying the slain (Elliot II, p. 390). Another extract states that Ogtai took Ghazni by assault after a siege of four months; it was burnt and destroyed to the very foundations, after about two hundred thousand persons had been inhumanly massacred (Elliot II, p. 569).

Death of Mahmud and his Character

After the crowning exploit of his career *viz.* the plundering and destroying of Somnath, Mahmud did not undertake any important expedition; perhaps there were no more worlds to conquer. The fame of his last exploit reached Baghdad "which listened to the edifying tale of the destruction of Somnath with wonder and the Khalifa conferred upon him one more title 'guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet' (Gibbon) *i.e.* Kahaf-ud-daulat-wal-Islam" (Elliot II, p. 474). The Khalifa also conferred titles upon his sons Mas'ud, Muhammad and Yusuf. Thus honoured by the head of the Mohammedan faith and in the fullness of glory and without any reverse, Mahmud died about three years after his greatest exploit *i.e.* in 420 H. (A.D. 1029) at the advanced age of 61, leaving behind him grown-up sons and experienced ministers and generals.

Historians have recorded highly appreciative notices of the character of Mahmud, beginning with Gibbon. "Turning from accounts of bloodshed of which unfortunately history is too full" observes Gibbon "it is a pleasant task to stop for a while to appreciate the good qualities of Mahmud, undoubtedly, one of the greatest kings of the world." "His name is still venerated in the East. His subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; and examples are recorded of his justice and magnanimity. Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud and never has that passion been more richly satisfied." "In his last moment he viewed with tears in his eyes his whole wealth displayed before, him, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, so inevitably lost," and he reviewed his army "which consisted of one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse and thirteen hundred war elephants."

Mahmud's greatness as a general and commander has been acknowledged by all. Lane-Poole describes him as "a great soldier and a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy of mind and body." Lane-Poole also extols his good government and justice and quotes the opinion of the great vazier of Seljuk that "Mahmud was a just sovereign, a lover of learning, of generous nature and of pure faith" (p. 35). That he was a patron of learned men is proved by the fact that great luminaries like Al-Beruni the astronomer, Al-Faribi the philosopher, Al-Utbi the chronicler, Al-Bahaki the gossipier, (Arabic writer) and Ansuri, Farukhi and Asjudi (Persian poets) and above all Firdusi the Homer of Persian literature resided at his court and obtained

support from him. While thus duly appreciating the greatness of Mahmud, Lane-Poole thinks that "Mahmud was not a statesman; no new institutions or methods of government were initiated by him, and he did not attempt to organise and consolidate what he had acquired; for as soon as he passed, his ill-knitted dominions fell asunder."

Before we proceed to discuss the adverse remarks of Gibbon and Lane-Poole, we will add our meed of praise of Mahmud as a great soldier, a consummate commander and a just ruler and administrator. We indeed think that Mahmud was one of those great men whom nature produces at intervals, men of exceptional qualities and unparalleled capacities, men who like Akbar or Shivaji, Napoleon or Peter the Great create new epochs in the history of the world and change the destinies of nations. As a man Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and stern conduct. In all his expeditions we do not read, along with the plunder of towns and temples and even slaughter and enslavement of fighters, the slaying or ravishing of women. And he loved justice and hated oppression so thoroughly that he was ready to destroy his own son if caught in the act of adultery. He was a good ruler and administrator and laboured to promote the well-being of his people in every way, protected commerce by the suppression of robbery and kept the communications between distant provinces free of danger so that "caravans passed freely between Khorasan and Lahore" (Utbi). He appointed good governors to the provinces and exercised strict supervision over them so that they did not oppress the people. Utbi describes in detail how his brother Nasir, appointed governor of Khorasan in Nishapur, was also known for his excellent administration and "was so kind that he never uttered a harsh word or offered wrong or violence to any one" (Utbi, p. 486). Utbi is not a flatterer when he praises Mahmud as "the glorious lord of the poor, who displayed the face of level equity between the widow and the wealthy so that the door of boasting and oppression was closed." "And he charged an examiner of weights and measures to go among the market people and guard the standard of weights and measures. He made each street a clear road for asses, camels and stalls. Formerly the streets of the bazars were not covered and the market people were vexed by dust and rain and he ordered the roofs of the bazars to be connected and in two months the city was entirely covered with roofs, with light-affording devices interwoven, so that all may be gladdened by the penetrating of the rays of the sun" (p. 486). "He expended (yearly) nearly one hundred

thousand dinars in promoting justice and gladness for the people and in honourable and pious liberalities" (p. 486). This amply shows that Mahmud was fully alive to the duty of a sovereign to secure the happiness and promote the welfare of the common people in the cities and the provinces of his territory.

Mahmud was a zealous Mohammedan and had implicit faith in his own religion. He always prayed before he began his battles and often in the hour of trial he would place reliance on God's promise in the Koran to aid and give victory to the faithful. In this respect as in many others, he resembled Shivaji who also had firm faith in his own religion and his own mission and often in his hour of trial he too would appeal to his favourite deity for help and guidance. Such appeals were probably made from conviction, though in both cases they might have been made for the purpose of raising the spirits, and inspiring confidence into the hearts, of his followers. Mahmud's taking angury from the Koran at critical moments was like Shivaji's praying to Bhavani and in a trance giving utterance to her words of encouragement and guidance. In both cases, we believe these acts were not pretences but arose from an intense religious turn of mind and implicit faith in God.

It may also be added that Mahmud did not revel in cruelty as some conquerors did in history. He did not perpetrate those inhuman massacres of innocent and helpless human beings which Changis and Timur two and three centuries after him or even some Mohammedan kings of the Deccan later still, perpetrated in Asia and India. In inflicting punishment of death on heretics again, Mahmud always acted not on mere suspicion but after due examination and ascertainment of views of the learned orthodox Kadis. The descriptions of such religious assemblies or synods presided over by Mahmud himself, given by Utbi are interesting (p. 481) though they were in the nature of inquisition. And Mahmud's presence and power exercised a temperate influence on their proceedings. Even in his religious bigotry, therefore, we think that Mahmud was not inhuman or tyrannical.

Note: Tahakat-i-Nasiri on Mahmud

"This monarch by his manliness, his bravery and intrepidity, his wisdom and foresight, his prudent counsels and wise measures considerably extended the Mohammedan conquests in the east and greatly extended the dominion of Islam in that quarter. The whole of

Khorasan and Khwarizm: Tabaristan, Irak, the territory of Nimroj and Fars, the mountain district of Ghor, Tukharistan came under the control of his officers. The Maliks of Turkestan acknowledged his superiority. He threw a bridge over the Jihun (Oxus) and marched into Turan and the Khakans of Turkestan came and tendered him their allegiance. At their request the son of Seljuk was permitted to cross over the Jihun with all his kindred and dependents into Khorasan. The most sagacious men of the time considered this permission a grave error as they perceived the danger to his sons and descendants (p. 86 Raverty's tras.).

Turning now to the consideration of the blemishes in Mahmud's character, Mahmud's avarice, we think, had been greatly exaggerated. The very fact that he amassed riches as no man in history did, impels people to believe that he was avaricious. The story that he wept in the moment of death at the sight of these incalculable treasures he was going to part with, is probably an invention and a calumny. Mahmud was too religiously minded to weep at the inevitable lot of mankind, especially when we remember that he left behind him sons to who a man in his frailty is always willing and glad to resign his own acquisitions. He was no doubt not a spendthrift as princes who inherit vast riches usually are. But there is not the least doubt that he was generous as even the Vizier of Seljuk observed, a testimony more reliable than that of later writers. He spent every year vast sums on the encouragement of letters and had founded a well endowed college with salaried professors where students were fed at state expense near the Jami Masjid he had built, as already stated (Utbi, p. 466). The story told about Firdusi that he was *promised* one thousand *gold* dirhams for every one thousand verses and offered *silver* dirhams when the work (Shahnama) was completed with 60000 verses, has probably confirmed, if it has not actually originated this imputation of avarice to Mahmud. This story is also, we think, a later invention as "much of the traditional life of Firdusi is rejected by modern scholars" (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Indeed, the current story would, in our view, rather prove the avarice and anger of Firdusi than the avarice and anger of Mahmud. In any case that same story shows the great encouragement which Mahmud gave to literature and the preservation of the ancient history of Persia. The fact that Firdusi, though a Shia and perhaps a heretic, was entrusted with this work of immortalising the history of *fire-worshipping* Persian kings brings out Mahmud's unalloyed love of letters. "Mahmud himself a Sunni and a fanatical Moslem still extended

patronage to Persian literature and learning and developed it even at the expense of Arabic institutions" (ditto). In this love of learning and knowledge for their own sake, Mahmud may be said to have even surpassed Akbar who encouraged the study of Sanskrit; for Akbar was not a rigid Mohammedan. Mahmud already had directed the completion of Persian legendary history commenced by the Samanides themselves but finally entrusted the work to Firdusi, a native of Tus in Khorasan the home of Persian poets, seeing that he was best fitted for it by his wonderful poetical talents and his intimate knowledge of the folklore of the ancient Persians. And Mahmud's patronage of Al-Beruni shows that he did not object even to the study of Sanskrit literature, philosophy and science. At any rate the galaxy of learned men poets and philosophers of unique ability, like Firdusi and Al-Beruni which illumined the court of Mahmud should make him as renowned as Akbar of modern and Vikramaditya of ancient fame. For these reasons we are disposed to attach not much value to the general imputation of avarice to Mahmud.

Nor do we think that Lane-Poole's remark that Mahmud was not a statesman can be justified. The reason why his empire fell as soon as he passed away was entirely different. In the first place, we do not know for certain that Mahmud did not initiate any new methods of government or that he made no attempt to organise and consolidate his acquisitions. There are no records either to prove or disprove this statement. We have no author like Abul Fazal who wrote the *Ain-i-Akbari* and gave us full details about Akbar's administration, to tell us how Mahmud administered his empire. But that it was a well-organised and well conducted government we cannot doubt. We are told by Utbi that full records were kept at Ghazni even of his expeditions and that Mahmud himself, like Babar, wrote memoirs in the midst of his wars and sent them home. An extract is given by Utbi from his memoir written from Mathura in the very bustle and turmoil of fighting and plundering, admiring the beauties of the temples of Mathura. There were registers of the provinces and of their revenues and expenditures and provincial governors were strictly supervised by the minister who regularly attended the Diwan or office. The working of an ordered administration clearly appears from the gossiping tales of Baihaki also. Although, therefore, we do not know the exact nature of the system of Mahmud's administration, there is no doubt that it was a well ordered system. Whether it was new or whether it was copied

from the system of administration of the Samanide empire of which Ghazni was originally a subordinate member, we do not know. But even if Mahmud followed carefully and strictly an old system it would itself prove his statesmanship. Even Shivaji kept on, to a large extent, the old system of administration at Bijapur, while introducing many changes which were necessary for his Swaraj and the new spirit of a Hindu king Akbar's administrative system was no doubt new and original but he had to rule an extensive empire inhabited by aliens in race and religion and comprising provinces differing in every detail such as land, climate and people.

How Mahmud organised his army we have also no information as we have as to how Akbar or Shivaji organised their armies. But Mahmud's organisation must have been sound since we know that he had a perfect striking machine which was successful everywhere and he made marches to such distant lands as Kanauj or Somnath over broad rivers, high mountains and long deserts. The institution of his bodyguard was peculiar to himself and this bodyguard of 5000 men, the pick and flowers of the Turkish soldiers, was always used by Mahmud with effect at the opportune moment in the fight.

We have, therefore, no materials to say that Mahmud did not introduce or initiate new institutions of government or did not attempt the organisation of his provinces. On the contrary, we have every reason to believe that Mahmud's civil and military administration was well-ordered and strong. The reason why his empire fell as soon as he passed away was, according to our view, the fact that Mahmud's successors were incapable both as soldiers and administrators. This is the principal defect of all despotic system of government. It is only rarely that we meet with a line of successive kings possessing vigour of body and mind like the Mogul line wherein from Babar to Aurangzeb we have six successive emperors of remarkable ability and even power. Shivaji like Mahmud again was unfortunate in his successors and if Maratha kingdom prospered in the eighteenth century, it was due to the vigour of the Peshwas whose four generations were men of great power as statesmen and generals. Even the British empire was and is strong not because of its good system of administration but because of its peculiar home constitution. The government in England is not despotic and is a government consisting of King, Lords and Commons which makes it impossible for voluptuous or despotic kings to come to the throne or incapable or ambitious governors or generals to come to India and its

provinces. Laws may be imperfect or even bad. It is the strict observance of laws, good or bad as they may be, which ensures strength and prosperity to a kingdom. The system of government in England ensures the observance of laws and therefore the continuous succession of efficient administrators and commanders. Under despotic government, kings who enjoy absolute power by mere birth and not by fitness often turn out voluptuaries and becoming incapable are unable to restrain the ambition of generals of armies or governors of provinces and thus provinces fall away and even the ruling dynasty is eventually destroyed. Then again under a limited monarchy and under republics the people develop a feeling of nationality which further guarantees the strength of the kingdom or the empire. For even if there appear ambitious governors or generals now and then, a strong national sentiment prevents soldiers or peoples from assisting rebels and traitors, thus making them powerless to do mischief. In fine, it is not true that the empire of Mahmud fell to pieces after him because of its imperfect system of administration, but it fell because of the despotic nature of its government which could not secure a continuity of capable rulers and of able and loyal governors; and because of the absence of the feeling of nationality in the people making it impossible for traitorous governors to assume independence.

To sum up, we think that Gibbon is right when he says that Mahmud was one of the greatest kings of the world. He was an interpid soldier and a consummate commander, a lover of justice and a patron of learned men, a sovereign who laboured for the peace and prosperity of his people and strove to extend education and commerce. As a man, Mahmud was a person of strict discipline and was not by nature cruel or avaricious; but was temperate and generous. He was also highly religious and of pure rigid faith. The great and perhaps solitary blemish in his character was, according to our view, his bigotted intolerance. By this defect he was not only led to plunder temples and rifle idols but even to destroy them and forcibly convert people in the conquered territories. Firm faith in, and zeal for, one's own religion is not inconsistent with respect for the religious beliefs and sacred edifices of other peoples. For this reason Mahmud, in our view, ranks lower than Akbar in the list of great kings and can certainly not compare with Shivaji who was as zealous as Mahmud in his own faith yet was tolerant enough to spare the sacred structures of Islam and to honour its holy men. This spot on Mahmud's character is indeed so great, that

it does not disappear in the multitude of his good qualities like the spot on the moon in her rays (Kalidasa), but like poverty mars his many merits (unnamed poet). The plundering of towns and temples may be excusable from the stand-point of international ethics, and may be forgotten but the forcible conversion of people cannot be justified or excused from the higher viewpoint of humanity and can never be forgotten. The reasonable interpretation of the Koran does not countenance the forcible conversion of people, as even the learned in the Koran have lately declared. And Abu Bakr had declared that conquered people should be permitted to retain their religion on payment of a capital tax. Yet religious fanaticism impelled Mahmud not only to destroy temples and idols, but to forcibly convert hundreds and thousands of Hindus in the conquered territories. It cannot be denied that man has the sacred and inviolable right to worship God in the Manner he chooses and from this higher stand-point of humanity one cannot too strongly condemn the *forcible* conversion of conquered people. In the present progress of civilization, one may even condemn peaceful but active propaganda for the spread of religion and time will soon arrive when nations will realise the utility and even the necessity of stopping all missionary or other efforts for the conversion of people by force, fraud or favour. But force especially, at all times, must be condemned as intruding the most precious right of man and we are constrained to look upon the bigotted intolerance of Mahmud which led him to forcibly convert thousands of Hindus as a great blemish on the otherwise high character of this great Mohammedan king.

III

After coming to the throne, Mahmud's attention was for a time directed towards the west. From the Samani emperor Nuh, he requested investiture with his father's dignities and Nuh confirmed him in the government of Balkh, Herat, Bost and Sarmadh. As to the governorship of Nishapur (Khorasan) and the generalship of the army the new emperor Mansur, Nuh's son, thought they might remain with Bektuzun a loyal and capable servant of the state who had meanwhile been entrusted with them. But Mahmud would not tolerate this and moved with his army against Bektuzun; but when Mansur himself advanced against him, he was loyal enough not to attack his master and retired to a safe distance. But the Samani kingdom was now nearing its end and certain unscrupulous officers seized the young emperor Mansur and put out the eyes of that young and handsome prince. Mahmud in

rage moved against these rebellious officers who fled with the new king whom they had raised to the throne in place of Mansur. Mahmud refused allegiance to this puppet and declared himself independent king of Khorasan and Ghazni. The Khalif Kadir Billa of Baghdad acknowledged him as sovereign ruler and sent him a robe of investiture and conferred upon him the title *Yaminuddaulat-va-Aminulmillat* (right hand of the empire and guardian of religion). Mahmud received the messenger with great honour and the title assumed by him as independent king was not Amir which he and his father used already but Sultan a title never used before him by any Mohammedan king. This title after him became general and Amir came down to signify a subordinate Sardar. Utbi records that Mahmud ruled justly and wisely in Khorasan and secured happiness to the people. As to the Samani capital Bokhara, as already stated, it was subsequently seized by Ilek Khan, the Turkish king of Kashgar who imprisoned and eventually probably put to death all the representatives of the Samani dynasty which thus came to an end in the beginning of the reign of Mahmud. This was just like what happened at Bijapur. Shivaji proclaimed himself king by his *Rajyabhisheka* or religious ceremony of coronation at the hands of Gagabhatta who gave him the new title of *Chhatrapati*, as the Mohammedan religious head at Baghdad gave the necessary religious sanction to the assumption of independence by Mahmud and gave him the new title of Sultan. And Shivaji's overlord, the Bijapur Sultan, was soon overthrown after this by Aurangzeb, the Ilek Khan of India, who removed the last claimant of Bijapur to Delhi and annexed the remaining territory of Bijapur to the Mogul empire. The actions of destiny working through human nature which is the same everywhere must necessarily be usually similar.

These events happened between 997 and 1000 A.D. (the Samani kingdom ending five years later in 1005 A.D.) and Mahmud became the master of a large portion of the Samani kingdom including Khorasan. He was engaged in conquering Sistan, another province of the Samani kingdom when news reached him that Jaipal was arming himself; probably Mahmud's generals had attacked Jaipal's dominions and he was preparing for a conflict. With the suddenness of resolve and celerity of movement which distinguished this great vanquisher as also Shivaji, Mahmud moved from the west and entered the territory of Jaipal at the head of 15,000 cavalry. For such sudden movements, cavalry is best suited and we find both Mahmud and Shivaji using

cavalry on such occasions. "Pershawar (Peshawar) was in the midst of the land of Hindustan (Utbi, p. 280) which means that Jaipal was still master of this part west of the Indus, with his capital at Wahind. It appears that Jaipal's preparations were not complete. He delayed the commencement of the battle in order that those men of his army who were coming up should arrive (Utbi, p. 81). But the Sultan saw his opportunity and at once attacked Jaipal. The battle was bloody and by mid-day 5000 of the infidels were cut in half by the sword. And Jaipal with all his family and children and several officers was taken prisoner. "The booty in ornaments was incalculable. So many necklaces were found on the necks of the princely prisoners and of the wounded and the slain, set with rubies and pearls and diamonds, that the army of Islam obtained unlimited riches." The rage of Hindu kings and nobles for ornaments has been marked even by Arab travellers (see Vol. II, p. 187); but it is strange that Jaipal and his Sardars and even soldiers should have gone to the battle-field, bedecked as if for a marriage procession. It seems probable that they were not prepared for battle and were attacked when encamped. "Thousands of children and young people and girls were obtained from that country and all those provinces of India which were on the side of Khorasan (*i.e.* on the west of the Indus) submitted to the Sultan." This victory took place on the 8th of Mohorrum in the year 392 H. (1001 A.D.) and "the news of it spread to the most distant horizon." (Utbi, p. 283).

Such was the memorable battle fought on the plains of Peshawar in 1001 A.D. which put an end to the dominion of the Hindus to the west of the Indus and even their future existence there. For the Sultan finished his victory by pushing on to Wahind, the capital of Jaipal and conquered and captured that place. This place could not be Bhatinda as is supposed by some as the latter would be too distant from Peshawar, being on the south of the Sutlej. Mahmud could not have traversed the whole of the Punjab with his limited force as stated already and as pointed out long ago by Elliot (II, p. 438). The whole country to the west of the Indus, or on the side of Khorasan in the words of Utbi, was annexed and not only brought under Mohammedan rule but entirely "purified from filthy ungodliness" by the forcible conversion of the people. "The soldiers of India in the hills and castles of these frontiers who stirred up violence and wickedness were made the food of swords and the subject of justice." The frontier tribes gave trouble to Mahmud as they do now and he punished them severely. Their

conversion and the conversion of the people to the west of the Indus generally belongs to this period. Mahmud thus not only knew how to annex provinces but also knew how to cement his annexations by forcible conversion, a subject on which we shall have to speak at length later on.

With regard to Jaipal and his family, Mahmud is said to have ordered their detention in a fortress in Khorasan. Whether Jaipal was taken to such a distant place or not, it appears that Mahmud soon released him, taking from him 50 elephants as ransom and his son as hostage and dismissed him to his kingdom which now lay to the east of the Indus. Instead of returning to it, Jaipal feeling deeply the ignominy of his capture and imprisonment and being perhaps very old, thought himself unfit to rule and burnt himself on a pyre as many Hindus, even kings, in those days did. Utbi says that a letter was received by his son who was a hostage with Mahmud announcing this self-immolation and this son who was Anandapala himself, the successor of Jaipal, Mahmud set at liberty and allowed peacefully to go and rule his kingdom. The tragic end of Jaipal and his long life, unfortunate throughout its length, cannot but raise our pity and admiration for his dignified death.

Mahmud after this event consolidated his power in the west by entering into a formal alliance with Ilekhan the Turk who had taken Bokhara by this time. Mahmud obtained the southern provinces of the Samani kingdom, Khorasan and other, while Ilekhan retained Mawarun-nahar the province to the north of the Oxus, with Bokhara the principal city of the Samani kingdom. Mahmud appears to have strengthened this peace with Ilekhan by marrying his daughter to his son. Thus secure in the west of his kingdom, Mahmud was free to devote his attention to Hindustan the riches and idols of which tempted his desire and offended his religious zeal. It need not be supposed, however, that India was the sole or chief subject of thought with Mahmud henceforward. For his activities and his energies required, and found scope in, watching the west as well as the east and are described with equal detail by Utbi. We will, however, properly enough confine our attention now to Mahmud's doings in reference to India. It is sometimes represented that Mahmud made a vow to make every year a religious expedition to India. This is, however, not only not correct in fact but it is also an afterthought of Mahmud's later chroniclers and Utbi mentions no such vow.

Later Mohammedan historians have counted these expeditions as twelve and this number has become traditional even with European historian. That they were more than twelve cannot be doubted and Elliot enumerates seventeen expeditions in a detailed note in an appendix to his second volume. It is not necessary to discuss here the question of the number of these expeditions which is more academic than important and we will describe these expeditions in detail without numbering them. The next expedition which Mahmud undertook was against Bhatia. Unfortunately, the exact position of Bhatia cannot yet be fixed as historians differ most materially on this subject and as we find no arguments strong enough to decide in favour of any particular place. We will first give the description of this expedition as per Utbi. (p. 322-24). "When the Sultan concluded the settlement of the affairs of Sistan, he determined on executing his design for the conquest of Bhatia. He passed over the Sihun (Indus) and the province of Multan and encamped before Bhatia. The city had walls which could be reached only by eagles and the watchman on it, if he liked, might give kisses on the lips of the planet Venus (!!!). It had a most like the gridling sea with a deep and wide abyss. The king relying on his mighty heroes came out of the city and gave engagement. For three days the Sultan fought and on the fourth when the sun arrived in the middle of the ocean of the sky, the cry of 'God is great' rose to the heavens and the Moslems made a charge which wiped out the blackness of those infidels. Most of the enemy fled into the fortress, but the champions of religion seized upon the passage to the fort. Young men of the army filled up the most and widened the passage. Bijairai escaped by a rope from the fortress into a fissure of the mountain and sought refuge in a wood where he was pursued, but he drew his Khanjar and killed himself with it. As for his army the greater part passed through the sword. A hundred and sixty elephants were captured. The Sultan made that place a station in order that the country might be cleansed from the odiousness of idolatry. And he drew the people under the bond of Islam, arranged the construction of mosques and appointed Imams. During his return many misfortunes befell the army, men and baggage were destroyed, many suffered from disgrace and fear; but the precious life of the Sultan was saved. Abul-Fath Bosti, Mahmud's confidante, gave him excellent counsel and refused his consent to such aims and enterprises but the Sultan did not accept his advice."

We have given this long description from the pen of Utbi both

to show his poetical manner of description and the difficulties which consequently arise. Utbi was not an eye-witness of these events and he, a secretary of Mahmud, wrote from information. It is first difficult to understand why this expedition to such a distant place was resolved upon. Utbi assigns no reason. Subsequent historians have stated that Bijairai was a subordinate of Jaipal and did not pay his quota of the tribute to be paid to Mahmud. But that was no reason for Mahmud to attack Bijairai. Moreover, it does not appear that any tribute was promised to be paid by Jaipal when he was released by Mahmud. Nor was Anandapala allowed to depart on condition of payment of tribute. In fact, Mahmud had despoiled a large portion of Jaipal's territory and that was sufficient compensation. The cause of this war was, therefore, something else than this and Utbi gives no clue. The Bhatia king was perhaps a powerful independent king to the south-west of Multan who laid claim to territory on the western side of the Indus and incited the people there. The Bhattis were originally masters of Zabulistan as we have already seen. The surmise that Jaipal, Anandapala and others were not Brahmins but were Bhattis is not correct according to our view. Though the name-ending changed here from deva to pala in the Brahmin Shahi line, it does not indicate a change of dynasty for deva is as much taken by Kshatriya kings as pala and the Shahi kings though Brahmins were practically Kshatriyas, marrying Kshatriya princesses and giving daughters to Kshatriya princes. In fine, it does not appear that Mahmud determined to march against Bhatia because the king of the place was an offending relation of Jaipal.

Whatever the reason which induced Mahmud to undertake this difficult and distant expedition, he executed it with his usual vigour and completeness. Bijairai (Vijayaraja) also appears to have fought bravely and refused to become a prisoner and killed himself before the same disgrace as befell Jaipal could overtake him. The fighting inhabitants of Bhatia probably mostly died on the battle-field and the others accepted Islam. No mention is made of persons taken into captivity, or of any plunder. This expedition, therefore, does not appear to have been undertaken for the sake of plunder or the destruction of any famous idol. The place and the people were in dangerous proximity to the territory of Ghazni on the west bank of the Indus and hence probably its complete subjugation and conversion.

Where was this place? That it was an important place there is no doubt; for Al-Beruni mentions Bhatia in his geography as a place

further than Multan which was to the west of Bazan. Now Multan itself is not to the west of Bazan exactly, but a little to the north-west and Bhatia may be to the south-west of Multan and not to the north-west of it. Thus, it cannot be Bahawalpur which has further no mountain near it. But it may be mentioned that the description of the fort or city of Bhatia shows that it was not in the immediate vicinity of a mountain. For a mountain fort cannot have a deep mat round it, though it may have a wall reaching the heavens. Plainly Utbi writes poetically and without personal knowledge, Mahmud is said to have passed the territory of Multan and therefore he must have come to the south-west of Multan. He is described as crossing the Indus only and not any other river; so that this town may have been to the south-west of Multan between the Indus and the Sutlej which agrees with its situation given by Al-Beruni. Firishta, when stating that Bijairai took shelter in the wood on the bank of the Indus, may be right, if we take this Bhatia as situated between the Sutlej and the Indus.

Elliot, however, is for correcting the reading and instead of Bhatia would read Bhera and place it in the north-west (?) of Multan, somewhere under the Salt Range on the left bank of the Jhelum. He would took upon the Palas of Wahind, Jaipal and Anandapala as Bhattis and relations of Bijairai. But this guess is not correct as stated above and is also not necessary. Elliot, no doubt, rightly observes that for this expedition Mahmud came via Bannu through Kurram valley, crossed the Indus and came to Bhatia by the border of Multan without entering it. As we shall presently see, Mahmud did not like to create difficulties by entering foreign and also hostile territory viz. that of Anandapala or of Multan and he took the most circuitous road. But this does not fix the position of Bhatia to the north-west of Multan, for in that case Mahmud would not have had to even go along the border of Multan territory. The difficulty created by Utbi's statement that Bijairai took refuge in a mountain-wood would be removed by looking upon it as an hyperbolical description and by holding that there were only hills in the neighbourhood of Bhatia. In any case no modern town can be fixed upon as representing this Bhatia and we must leave it unidentified, simply stating that it was a town well-known in the days of Al-Baruni south-west of Multan and between the Indus and the Sutlej.

(1) The Bahawalpur Gazetteer looks upon Bhatinda as Bhatia and states "In 1004 A.D. Mahmud was engaged in the reduction of

Bhatinda whose governor Raja Bijairai had revolted against the suzerain Anandapala and had molested Mahmud's deputies." "In the next campaign Mahmud advanced on Multan by way of Bhatinda." Both these statements do not seem to be probable from what Utbi has stated about the march of Mahmud. (2) The Imperial Gazetteer under Bhatnair (Hanumangarh) Bikaner Sates states that it is believed that was the place Mahmud attacked in 1004 A.D. but adds that this is doubtful. (3) The Bikaner Gazetteer makes the same remark and adds that the fort was taken by Timur from a Bhati chief named Raja Dulchand and was described as an extremely strong and fortified place "renowned throughout Hindustan." (4) The Jaisalmer Gazetteer gives the ancient tradition of the Bhatīs as follows: "They were descended from Jadu and after the dispersion of the Yadavas from Mathura they went beyond the Indus and a king named Gaj founded the city of Ghazni. They were subsequently defeated by a Khorasan chief and they recrossed the Indus and settled in the Punjab. They regained Ghazni but in the time of Baland, they were driven out of Ghazni. Baland's son Bhati conquered many of the neighbouring chiefs. He was succeeded by his son Mangalrao, whose fortune was not equal to that of his father; and who on being attacked by the king of Ghazni abandoned his kingdom and fled across the Sutlej and found refuge in the Indian desert which has been ever since the home of his descendants." This tradition supports to some extent the existence of a town of Bhatīs somewhere between the Indus and the Sutlej which was destroyed by the Turks and the Bhatīs then crossed the Sutlej and entering the desert settled in Jaisalmer.

Expedition against Multan Knowing that Mahmud was engaged in a distant war, Ilekhan's army invaded Mahmud's territory in the west and he himself taking the aid of Kadir Khan of Chin crossed the Jihun (Oxus). Mahmud getting information returned like lightning to Ghazni and proceeded to Balkh. A terrible battle was fought with Ilekhan who was signally defeated and he fled beyond the Oxus. In this battle, Utbi records, Mahmud's army was composed of Turks, Khiljis, Afghans and Hindus and there were five hundred elephants which Mahmud posted in the centre and Mahmud himself rode a furious elephant, attacked the personal guard of Ilekhan of five hundred select Turks and killed many of them by his own elephant. This shows that materials which, with incapable leaders, were of little avail could be used with effect by a capable commander. The same

Hindu soldiers and elephants who could not secure victory to Jaipal were used by Mahmud with conspicuous efficiency against his own Turks.

Mahmud returning to Ghazni resolved upon capturing Multan and driving away the heretic Mohammedan governor there. Multan was at this time an independent state, Mohammedan Sind being divided into two kingdoms, Multan in the north and Mansura in the south. The king of Multan was a Mohammedan but he belonged to the Karmatian sect. This sect was founded by one Abdulla bin Maimun, a Persian. He preached that the seventh Imam was the last Imam. He denied resurrection and believed in incarnation. This sect was driven out of Persia and coming to India found many adherents here. (Indeed these two doctrines were perhaps taken from Hindu Philosophy.) There were esoteric doctrines also such as the sacredness of the numbers 7 and 12, stages of initiation, mystical interpretations and so on which are always catching with religious simple minds, especially in India. The governor and many people in Multan were Karmatians and Mahmud who was a staunch Mohammedan properly resolved to wipe out this heresy from India. Indeed, it appears that the father of the Governor of Multan had been driven out of Khorasan by Sabuktigin.

Mahmud knew the difficulties and dangers of the direct route of Multan. While returning from Bhatia, as stated before, his army was harassed, his baggage was lost and even his life was in danger, how and where the discreet Utbi does not even mention much less describe. He was a court historian; he poetically describes at length Mahmud's victories but is very succinct in describing his reverses. Possibly the people in the country of Bhatia, exasperated at the tragic fate of their king and their capital, rose against Mahmud and harassed him as he returned. More probably still, the troubles one tribesmen who inhabited the valleys and mountain gorges on the frontier of the present N.W. Frontier Province, attacked Mahmud. Whatever the exact nature of the difficulties, Mahmud this time preferred a less troublesome though circuitous route to Multan and requested permission from Anandapala the king of the Punjab to pass through his territory. This proves that Anandapala was king in the Punjab at least and was an independent king. But he refused permission as the governor of Multan was his ally. It is said that the governor had even assisted Jaipal in his great battle with Sabuktigin. Mahmud, however, would not have a resusal and resolved first to attack Anandapala and then Multan. Anandapala was

defeated and pursued till he fled into Kashmir. The place where this battle was fought is described as situated in the province of Peshawar by Elliot but Peshawar was already in the possession of Mahmud. It must have been some place in the Punjab on the east on the Indus. Utbi does not give the place at all. He simply says "To the king commanded his army to plunder the destroy and burn the villages and cities." "And they cast Anandapala from one strait into another until they expelled him into the province of Kashmir." "When Abdul Fatah saw the fate of Anandapala he packed up his treasures and sent them on backs of camels to Serendib (Ceylon) and fled."

Mahmud entered Multan and finding the citizens involved in heresy fined them a heavy sum. "The account of this stand for religion passed to all cities and even went to Egypt and the main source of infidelity and heresy in these part was cut off." (Utbi, p. 328-329). It appears that along with Karmatian heresy, there was also the schism about the Khalifat. While some followed the Khalifa of Baghdad as the true Khalifa, others followed the Khalifa of Egypt whose name was read in the Khutab. Mahmud was, of course, the champion of the Khalifas of Baghdad and had even declined to accept a robe of honour sent by the Khalifa of Egypt.

By what route Mahmud went and returned from Multan is not clearly stated by Utbi. But it seems possible that he did not go via Bhatinda as stated by some later historians; and Elliot properly holds that he must have gone by the road of Bhera *i.e.* from the north (Elliot II, p. 432). In what year this expedition was undertaken is also not clear. Some historians place it after the defeat of Ilekhan while others place it before that event. Elliot inclines to the latter view, following Utbi. But Utbi, dates are not always consecutive and he does not give the year of this event. We have, however, given it before this expedition to Multan in order to fit in the very important account of Anandapala's letter given by Al-Beruni. "I learn the Turks have rebelled against you. If you wish, I shall come myself or send my son with a force of 500 horses, 1000 soldiers and 100 elephants. I have been conquered by you and wish that another man should not conquer you." This chivalrous offer could not have been made by Anandapala after he had been causelessly attacked and defeated by Mahmud when the latter proceeded through his country to attack Multan. Internationally speaking, Anandapala's refusal to allow Mahmud to pass through his territory to attack a friendly state like Multan or even a neutral one was proper

and just, as indeed his conduct had generally been even according to Al-Beruni. But strong powers disregard such obstacles; as Germany did when Belgium refused her permission in the recent European War to pass through her territory to attack France and drew the attack of Germany on herself first. And Mahmud acted like Germany and first dealt with and punished Anandapala. After this plainly unfair conduct of Mahmud, Anandapala cherished opposite feelings when his son was a prisoner; but this Trilochanapala was the opposite of his father." *i.e.* was on friendly terms with the Mohammedans and had love and respect for them. When Trilochanapala was made a prisoner cannot be determined. He might have fallen into Mahmud's hands even in this expedition against Multan; and subsequently released with honour which may have made him of a different frame of mind. No doubt Al-Beruni, when giving the above substance of Anandapala's letter, letter was written. But this expression cannot cover an actual attack by Mahmud on Anandapala and his pursuit from place to place till he fled into Kashmir, and may refer to previous ordinary relations which were never friendly.

Mahmud while returning from Multan does not appear to have seized any territory of Anandapala though, as stated before, he had plundered and devastated it. When Mahmud retired beyond the Indus, Anandapala must have returned to his territory feeling his defeat bitterly and, as we shall presently relate resolved to make a desperate effort to crush the power of the Ghaznavide ruler.

(A) Final Fight of the Combined Hindus

Anandapala called to his aid the several kings of India and Firishta gives a very exaggerated account of this final effort of combined Hindus to crush the growing danger to their religion and independence.

But Utbi does not give any such general aspect to this effort. As usual, the truth lies between the two. Marathi Bakhars, we know well, exaggerate incidents as time rolls on, each later Bakhar adding to the marvellous. Indeed, this is also true of even the ancient history of India, each later edition of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata adding to the marvellous element in the story. Mohammedan historians are not an exception and cannot resist the natural temptation to add to the marvellous. Thus, Firishta states (Elliot II, p. 446).

"In the year 399 H (1008 A.D.). Mahmud having collected his forces determined to invade Hindustan and punish Anandapala who

had shown much insolence during the late invasion of Multan. Anandapala invited the aid of other Hindu kings who now considered the expulsion of the Mohammedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer entered into a confederacy and collected an army greater than ever had marched against Sabuktigin. Anandapala himself took command and advanced against Mahmud. The two armies met on the plains of Peshawar and encamped facing each other. They remained so for 40 days, neither side showing any eagerness of come to action. The troops of the idolators daily increased. The infidel Gakkhars also joined them in great strength. The Hindu females sold their jewels and sent the proceeds from distant parts to supply their husbands with necessities. Those who were poor contributed from their earnings by *spinning cotton and other labour*."

This is certainly an exaggerated account when we compare it with what the contemporary Utbi states about this fight. "When the Sultan arrived on the bank of the Wamand Wabal-biu-Abdbal came to confront him with a numerous army. And from morning to evening the fire of battle burnt. And it had nearly happened that the army of the Sultan was worsted and the infidels had obtained the high hand. However, the promise respecting victory to the word of Islam was fulfilled and the Sultan with his own guards made a charge under which the feet of the rebels were unable to stand (Utbi, pp. 340-41).

The statement of Firishta that ladies contributed to the expenses of the soldiers by selling their ornaments and by receipts from spinning and other labour is simply an exaggeration. The kings of India were rich enough to support their soldiers and contributions from merchants and from rich temples could have been taken if necessary. The coming together again of contingents from several Hindu kingdoms may be believed in, though not mentioned by Utbi, as the force gathered was evidently so large as to make the result of the fight tremble in the balance for a time. Moreover, Indian epigraphic evidence is in support of some kings coming to assist Anandapala. But, as before the names of the states given by Firishta are mentioned from imagination working on the basis of later history. Ujjain does not appear to have taken part though Bhoja was then ruling Malwa and was strong enough to send a contingent. As will be stated in Paramara history, Bhoja is said in an inscription to have fought with the Turks but is said to have conquered them. Kalanjar certainly took part in this conflict, the king

being hands, following the example of his father Dhanga who had taken part in the previous combined effort against Sabuktigin. Kanauj, of course, must have sent a contingent as it was the Imperial power of Northern India. Gwalior was subordinate to Kalanjar and there was feudatory powerful king belonging to the Kachhapaghata (modern Kachhwaha) clan and a contingent from Gwalior might have taken part though inscriptions yet found do not mention the fact. Delhi and Ajmer were either not yet founded or were not able to take any part in the conflict. Many Punjab chiefs, however, subordinate to Anandapala may have joined him. Firishta does not mention. Kashmir and the Rajatarangni also does not allude to any contingent being sent to assist Anandapala on this occasion. However, it seems undoubted that a formidable force was collected by Anandapala for this heroic effort to protect Hindustan from the new power at Ghazni which threatened to destroy its independence and its religion.

Firishta places this decisive battle in the plain of Peshawar, but Elliot does not think this probable. Utbi has not mentioned the site of the engagement. But as Wahind and the territory to the west of the Indus was already under Mahmud, he might have taken steps to meet the enemy in his own land, like a consummate commander. Utbi mentions the bank of the Wamand (p. 340) but what river it is cannot be determined. He also does not mention whether the river was crossed and if so by whom. The Gazetteer of the Attock District places this battle in the plain of Chhachh lying in that district between Attock and Hazro, and the Rawalpindi Gazetteer reiterates the statement. Both opine that the battle was fought between Mahmud and Anandapala Shahi Kabul king who was also master of the Punjab. The king's name as read in Utbi is Wabal-bin-Abdbal but this is certainly a misreading; the last name is no doubt Anandapala; Wabel may have been the name of one of his sons.

The manner and course of the fight described by Firishta so completely resembles the course of the fight between the Hindus and the Mohammedans in 1761 at the battle of Panipat that one might have been tempted to suggest that the description of Firishta was copied from the description of the fight between Sadashiv Bhau and Ahmadshah Abdali. But Firishta wrote more than two hundred years before the latter battle was fought. We are, therefore, simply reminded here of the maxim history repeats itself. On the plain of Chhachh, in 1008 A.D., the Hindu and Moslem armies lay in front of each other in

entrenched camps for forty days, being equally balanced, each watching for an opportunity to gain advantage over the other, like two powerful wrestlers in touch with each other yet motion less for a time. The Gakkhars whose number 30,000 seems to be exaggerated, wild, bareheaded, half-civilized men who had come to the assistance of the Hindus, however, began the fight by rushing the entrenched Ghazni camp and slaying a few thousand Mohammedan soldiers in a few minutes. The two armies now became grappled in conflict and until midday the advantage was with the Hindus as even Utbi admits. The tide, however, turned, by what accident Utbi does not relate but Firishta states "that the Sultan seeing the fury of the Gakkhars* withdrew himself from the thick of fight that he might stop the battle for that day. But it so happened that the elephant which Anandapala rode became unruly from the effects of naptha-balls and arrow hurled at him, turned and fled. And the Hindus believing that this was a signal for flight on the part of their general all gave way and fled. Abdulla Tai pursued them and 8000 Hindus were cut to pieces." This account is not given by Utbi but he states another fact which is more important viz. that the Sultan with his own guards made a charge "under which the feet of the infidels could not stand." All this as exactly like what happened in the battle of Panipat between the Marathas and the Afghans. Till noon the tide was in favour of the Marathas, under the execution of the guns of the battalions of Ibrahimkhan and the charge of the Huzurat horse. Suddenly a ball stuck Vishvasrao dead on his elephant and the news spreading that the general was dead, the army gave way. At this advantageous moment, Ahmadshah Abdali like Mahmud made a furious attack with a force of Afghans which he had kept in reserve and the Maratha army broke and fled. Probably Anandapala like the brave but unfortunate Bhaoosaheb rushed into the thick of the fight on foot and embraced death on the battle-field. For we do not know what became of both after the battle nor do we hear that they were found dead or alive. Such was the momentous battle fought in 1008 A.D. between the Hindus and the Mohammedans a precursor of the struggle seven and a half centuries later. The Hindus after this battle no doubt continued in strength in Punjab for a time as

* The Gakkhars are now Mohammedan and inhabit chiefly the Rawalpindi District Raja Jahandad Khan a Gakkhar chief state that Firishta wrongly gives the name of Gakkhars for Khokkars who really attacked Mahmud. Khokkars are a different wild tribe which is also Mohammedan now.

after Panipat, but the blow was severe. Indeed, both battles put an end to the dream of the Hindus to drive the Mohammedans out of India.

We must pause here a little before proceeding with our narrative and consider the causes of the defeat of the Hindus. As at Panipat, so at Chhachh they were not handicapped for want of sufficient numbers. If at all, they had the advantage of number on their side. They were again not less brave than the Moslems. Here as at Panipat the Hindus fought bravely and even desperately. Thirdly there was no superiority of arms of the side of the Mohammedans in either battle. At Panipat both had artillery and if at all the artillery on the side of the Hindus was more efficient. In the battle near Hazro neither side had any fire arms. They were not known then. Both used the same weapons viz. swords and lances. And Hindus swords and lances were as sharp and strong. If not sharper and stronger, as those of the Mohammedans. For one thing it may be said fate favoured the Mohammedans at Hazro as at Panipat. Those who deny fate as one of the factors leading to success properly maintain that fate is the cause overspreading every event in this human world. But when fate is said to be favourable or unfavourable, the word is usually used in the sense that certain accidents which are outside the control of man occur to help the winning side and to discomfit the losing one. In the previous fight of the Hindus beyond the Indus with Sabuktigin, we saw that a sudden snowstorm arose to harass the Hindus who being residents of the plains of India were unaccustomed to such cold weather. At this battle the elephant of Anandapala under arrows and naphtha-balls became unruly and turned and fled. But we must remember that war elephants were always trained to encounter such missiles. Arrows and naphtha-balls were not new or strange weapons, for the first time used in this battle. This accident was exactly like the accident which happened at Panipat by which Vishvasrao was killed. At this distance of time we not at all conversant with the modes of elephant fighting, are tempted to observe, that it is indeed strange that in such fights commanders, especially when kings in person assume the command, should ride elephants and become easy targets for naphtha-balls, arrows and especially gun bullets. But when we find that Mahmud himself rode an elephant when he fought with Ilekhan near Balkh, we cannot suppose that Anandapala committed a blunder in riding an elephant, though we may hold that Vishvasrao's riding an elephant and exposing himself to bullets was a serious blunder at Panipat. There were no guns in the days of

Anandapala and the only missiles that could be thrown against him were arrows and naphtha-balls against which his armour and that of the elephant were a sufficient protection.

But the historian cannot but observe that Hindus have always failed to exhibit that grip, that resourcefulness which brave and strong men are expected to exhibit when an adverse accident befalls them. We have tried to explain the strange behaviour of Indian armies which, often unbeaten, fly when, an accident happens to the commanding king, by the fact that Indian soldiers in consequence of the absence of all felling of nationality have no sense of patriotic self-interest in the success of the fighting. All the same, we may note this defect in Indian character (Hindu and perhaps even Mohammedan) viz. that Indians do not possess that doggedness of fight under adverse circumstances which distinguishes the western and notably the British soldier. There is no doubt that Mahmud possessed this quality so necessary in a commander. Like Shivaji he never was despondent when fortune seemed unfavourable and fought on stubbornly. Moreover, Mahmud clearly was a great general. Like Ahmadshah Abdali he had a reserve force of resolute and brave body-guards which the Ghaznavide kings and Mahmud particularly, maintained at a high level of efficiency and at great cost. Mahmud himself with this guard led the final attack at the proper moment like Ahmadshah Abdali and gained eventual success in this memorable battle which practically sealed the fate of the Punjab, if not of the whole of India.

The Site of the Confederate Battle

As stated above, Firishta places this battle near Pashawar and some native writers even state that it was fought between Peshawar and Jamrud where is a plain extensive enough for a fight between armies numbering at least a lakh on either side. The Attock and Rawalpindi Gazetteers, however, place it in the plain of Chhachh on the east side of the Indus near Hazro. Indeed, the geography primer for Attock District now taught in Vernacular schools therein states distinctly that the battle was fought near Hazro. We personally saw this plain and the town of Hazro and we think that this surmise of the Gazetteers may be accepted. On what authority this statement is based cannot be ascertained. Utbi mentions a river Wamand at which the Sultan arrived. As there is no river of this name in Peshawar district we may read here river (Indus) *near* Wahind. The similarity between

this battle and the battle of Panipat in 1761 A.D. which has been already noticed suggests that Mahmud crossed the river Indus himself as Abdali did the Jumna lower down while Bhaoosaheb was thinking of crossing the Jumna higher up and meeting Abdali in Antarbéd. Probably Anandapala advanced from the south as far as Hazro and wished to cross the Indus himself at Wahind. Mahmud entrenched himself seeing the superior force or position of the enemy. Why Anandapala did not oppose Mahmud's crossing the river may be explained on the supposition that Anandapala did not think that Mahmud would cross the Indus; or that he wished to fight with him on the east of the Indus; or that he did not get information in time. As Chacha is known to have opposed Kasira when the latter crossed the Indus in Sind, we have no mention to Anandapala opposing Mahmud when he crossed the Indus. Perhaps Mahmud was already to the east of the Indus when Anandapala advanced against and met him. In this case Hazro must have been in the possession of Mahmud. The plain to the south of hazro is wide enough for such a big battle and there is plenty of water to be found at a depth of 10 to 15 ft. in this plain and there are no holes or drops in the ground so that the plain is like the plain of Panipat suitable for movements of cavalry. Even now it seems that the plain is used for military manoeuvre by the British army.

The plain is flanked by the hills of Kashmir and Anandapala is said by some writers to have fled into Kashmir after his defeat. The Gakkhars inhabit these valleys and we can see easily how Gakkhars in great number joined Anandapala's army in this fight. The shock of the defeat must have been felt throughout the Punjab, as the shock of the defeat at Panipat was felt so far south as the Nerbudda and it was thus easy for Mahmud to march on to Kot Kangra and plunder that place.

It may be added that if we suppose that the battle was fought near Peshawar in Mahmud's territory as it then was, with the Indus before the fugitives, it would have been difficult for Anandapala or much of his force to pass beyond the Indus. It is recorded by Utbi and others that only a small number of persons (8000) was slain in the pursuit. The number would have been far greater had the Indus confronted the fugitives.

(B) The Raid on Nagarkot

Having routed the Hindus confederate army and put it to fight,

Mahmud took advantage of this favourable moment to make a sudden raid on Nagarkot which was famed then for its great idol as well as for its immense riches. This was the first expedition undertaken by Mahmud with the set purpose of obtaining immense plunder. Whether Mahmud can be blamed for attacking Hindu temples and cities for mere plunder we will discuss later on. Here it will suffice to remark that like Shivaji, Mahmud must have maintained an efficient intelligence department and obtained accurate information as to where plunder might be obtained, through emissaries who travelled openly or in cognito in the Hindu kingdoms of Northern India. Nagarkot was a stronghold in the kingdom of Kangra. There was a famous idol there of what Hindu deity is not stated anywhere; for the Jvalamukhi temple which is sometimes confounded with this temple was different: (Jvalamukhi is fifteen miles distant from Nagarkot and there some jets of gas issue from the top of a hill which priests ignite when worshippers come). People from distant parts came to worship the Nagarkot idol as well as Jvalamukhi and made rich presents. There being a strong fort there, the Kings of India, as Mohammedan historians relate, kept their treasures there. Nagarkot is the modern name but the ancient name was Bhimagar; the town was said to be founded by Bhima supposed to be the Mahabharata hero, but probably by Bhimadeva of the Brahmin Shahi dynasty of Kabul. Utbi gives the name "Fort of Bahim" which would be read easily for Bhim. The account which he gives of this raid is as follows: "And *then* he (Mahmud) arrived at the base of the fort of Bahim Bagra (Bhimnagar). This is a castle in the midst of water high as a mountain ... And the people of India made it a treasury for their great idols, and load upon load of precious goods and jewels had been transported there, for the purpose of obtaining salvation....The Sultan closely surrounded this fortress and they began to fight in defence of the castle with resolute fierceness;.... (eventually).... they capitulated and consented to serve under the banners of the Sultan ... The Sultan found such an amount of jewels and precious stones and rare treasures that fingers could not count and account-books were not equal to catalogue them. The gold and silver was given into the charge of his two chamberlains Altontash and Istargin, while he himself took charge of the jewels and transported the whole on the backs of men and camels. And as far as could be computed, the treasure consisted of 1070 packets of royal dirhams and 700-800 mans of gold and silver. And as for robes of silk and cloth, they were so many that the clerks of the state could not arrange them

and acknowledged that they had never beheld such beauty of workmanship and delicate excellence. And they found a large house of silver, sixty cubits long and fifty wide, with broad flooring so arranged and so contrived with ropes that the whole could be thrown together or could be separated into divisions, that it could be folded or expanded with curtains of Grecian brocade and two golden statues and two silver statues. The Sultan then left trustworthy officers to protect the fortress and returned to Ghazni, where he exhibited the jewels, pearls, jacinths, emeralds and other precious stones on a carpet in a serai and chiefs of countries and deputies of provinces and envoys of the king of Turks put the finger of astonishment into their mouths." We have given this description of the spoils as a specimen in order that the reader may realize the enormous quantity of plunder which Mahmud obtained in his raids and in order that such descriptions may not be repeated. It may also be pointed out that Mahmud like Shivaji kept a detailed account of all the treasures he obtained by plunder and that the same was duly appraised and certain rules must have been observed by which the share of the state was reserved and the rest distributed among the soldiers. We know that Arab expeditions in the beginning of the spread of the new religion were conducted under strict rules of division of plunder between the state or Khalifa and the commander with the soldiers. In short as under Shivaji the plundering was systematic as also the division of the spoil.

"The impassable waters which surrounded Nagarkot" were according to Elliot, "the Banaganga and the Biyahi rivers. The town of Bhima was on the spot now called Bhawani (goddess) about a mile from the fort." This raid of Nagarkot must have immediately followed the defeat of the confederate Hindu forces near Hazro as Utbi clearly seems to convey by the introductory words '*And then*'; but some historians place it in the following year viz. 1009 A.D.

Kangra its Fort and Temples

Kangra is a most fertile plateau in the Himalayas with a snow-clad range at its back and with perennial streams running through it into three or four khuds or rivers. It must have come under Aryan civilization in most ancient time and we have seen that lunar race Rajput kings now called Katoch ruled there from the days of the Mahabharata. The fort of Kangra which had usually been their strong place for retirement is also an ancient fort and was indeed impregnable in those days when cannon was not known. The fort stands on an

eminence at the confluence of two deep khuds or rivers named the Banaganga and the Manuni, only a narrow strip of land dividing the two deep basins. The steep sides of the fort along the rivers are almost perpendicular rising about 300 feet. In the neck of the narrow strip between the rivers a deep moat has been dug and the entrance to the fort is beyond this artificial chasm. The fort can easily be defended on this narrow neck by a small garrison. There was a famous temple in this fort according to Mohammedan historians which was destroyed by Mahmud. What temple it was we will now try to determine from local information as well as from the Arch. S.R. for 1905 wherein we find much information about Kangra temples which existed before the earthquake of 1905.

The history of the fort is thus given in this report (p. 11): "The fort was taken by the irresistible Mahmud in 1009. In 1337, it was again taken by Mohammed Tughlaq and also in 1351 by his successor Firozshah. It permanently fell into the hands of the Mohammedans when conquered by Jahnagir in 1621. When Mogul power declined it was taken back by Raja Samsarchand II in 1786 (or by his father Ghamandchand according to Col. Janakchand member of Council, Jammu and Kashmir, and himself a Katoch). It was handed over, however, to Ranjitsing in 1809. The Sikhs handed it over to the British in 1846 and it was garrisoned by British troops till 1900." At present of course it is in ruins.

"The most important monuments in the fort were the temples of Lakshminarayana and Stala; both of them have fallen in the last catastrophe. We may safely assume that they were posterior to the sack of the fort by Mahmud."

"The temple of Ambika still used for worship is a plain structure and has not been damaged by the earthquake. The features of the construction of the temple indicate that it happened during the Mohammedan occupation."

"To the south of the Ambika temple, there are two Jain statues, one a pedestal and the other a seated statue of Adinatha with a partly obliterated inscription dated according to Cunningham St. 1523 *i.e.* 1466 A.D. in the reign of Samsarchand I" (p. 15).'

"Plate III shows the temple of Indresvara in Kangra town. It is ascribed to Raja Indrachandra and is a Siva temple. If he is identified with Indrachandra mentioned by Kalhana as a contemporary of

Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-63) it shows that this temple dates from the 11th century. There are two Jain images on both sides of the temple on one of which is the date 30 of Lokakala. It was supposed to be contemporaneous with the prasasti on the Baijanath temple and hence as old as 854 A.D. But as the date of the Baijanath inscription had been recently read as 1204 St. the image may be 1154 A.D. old. The four pillared pavilion has been levelled to the ground in the earthquake, but the rest of the building is safe with the two Jain images" (p. 16).

"But the most celebrated sanctuary of Kangra District was the temple of Vajresvari in Bhavan, suburb of Kangra town. From a remote age the spot was sacred but the temple which fell down in the earthquake was not an old one. An inscription preserved in the porch says it was built in the time of Sri Mahammad (identified by Cunningham with Mahammad Sayyad who ruled at Delhi from 1533 to 1546). At the time of its foundation Raja Samasarchand was the king of Kangra." This temple has now been built again by the Hindu community.

The above information will show to us that neither the Lakshminarayana and Sitala temples in the fort nor the Indresvara temple in the town could be the temple thrown down by Mahmud, as they are all later constructions. The only temples that remain are the Ambika temple in the fort and the Vajresvari temple in Bhavan. Now the Hindu community in rebuilding this Vajresvari temple in Bhavan, in their printed prospectus, state that this temple was destroyed by Mahmud in 1009 and was rebuilt by a Kangra king in 1043. It was again destroyed by Muhammad Tughlaq in 1337, again rebuilt by the Hindus and again thrown down in 1360 by Feroz. It was rebuilt by Samsarchand I in 1440. It was thrown down again by Khawas Khan, general of Sher Shah, in 1540 and rebuilt by Raja Dharamchand in Akbar's days. The present Maharaja of Guler who is indeed a very learned and well informed person and of urbane manners told us that in his opinion the temple thrown down by Mahmud was the Vajresvari temple in Bhavan and that there was once a wall round Bhavan. This opinion is also entertained by many persons. But it seems to us that the Vajresvari temple was first built in the days of Samsarchand I. We will give our reasons for this view. In all descriptions of Mohammedan writers, Mahmud is said to have taken the fort of Kangra and destroyed a temple there. The Vajresvari temple is not in the fort but is in Bhavan a suburb at a distance of about two miles from Kot Kangra or town

Nagar Kot. If there was a wall around Bhawan. It could not have been a strong one and it could not have been as difficult to take it as Kot Kangra. Then again the temple with idol thrown down by Tughlaq appears also to have been in the fort which he took. The Katoch kings retook the fort and rebuilt the temple in the fort which was again taken by Firoz Tughlaq. It appears that after these repeated disasters, the Hindu moved down the temple to Bhavan in the days of Samsarchand I.

It must be mentioned further, that the idol in the Vajresvari temple is not fashioned by the hand but is a svayambhu idol viz. a natural stone coming out of the earth having some appearance of a head, at least eyes. This is the only svayambhu idol of Devi which we have seen. The legend is that the deity was discovered by a cultivator who, while ploughing his field, accidentally struck the deity with the iron-head of the plough and brought out blood. This is, of course, the usual story of the discovery of a svayambhu deity. It seems probable that as at Benares or at Ujjain (Mahakala) the Mohammedans even under Mohammedan rule allowed the Hindus to have a temple of the same god in the vicinity of the old temple thrown down, so in Kangra the fort remaining in the possession of Mohammedans, the Hindus were allowed to have a temple of the same deity in Bhavan. Samsarchand the first erected the Vajresvari temple in 1440, and the iconoclastic Shershah again threw it down a hundred years later, the tolerant Akbar allowed the temple to rebuilt by king Dharamchand.

This interesting history, however, shows the strong Hindu spirit of the Katoch Rajas of Kangra and the temple of Dharamchand built about 1600 was standing till it was destroyed by the earthquake of 1905. Strong Hindu sentiment has again caused the temple to be built, the dome of which is being now adorned with gold.

It is necessary, however, to add that the Ambika temple in the fort is still the place where Katoch Rajputs go to worship. In fact, we were told that every Katoch sends his hair cut in the godana ceremony to be placed before the Ambikadevi in the fort. This fact along with the legend of the discovery of the Vajresvari idol, leads us to believe that the famous temple in Kangra which was thrown down by Mahmud was the Ambika temple in the fort* or it may have been the original Vajresvari temple in the fort. The idol in the present Ambika temple

* The present building of the temple is according to the A.S. Report later than Mahmud.

is also an unfashioned one or svayambhu. In all such cases, there are movable idols in the temple also and Utbi actually states that the people of India made the temple a treasury for their great idols.

When Utbi relates that "he (Mahmud) came to the fort of Bahim Bagra" a castle in the midst of water high as a mountain and an inaccessible pit" (p. 341) he refers to this very fort at the confluence of the two rivers. Of course, Bahim Bagra has to be read as Bhimnagar and it is believed that Bhimashah of Kabul founded the town Bhavan. The further description by Utbi cannot apply to Bhavan and Bhimnagar must be taken to mean the whole place including Nagarkot, Bhavan and Kot Kangra.

2

North India

1. The Punjab under the Yamini Dynasty

The death of Sultan Mahmud in 1030 A.D. was followed by a struggle for succession between his two sons, Muhammad and Mas'ud. The former was dethroned after a reign of 7 months and Mas'ud ascended the throne of Ghazni in 1031 A.D. He appointed Ahmad Niyaltigin governor of the Punjab. Niyaltigin continued the policy of Sultan Mahmud and led military expeditions into the interior of the country. In 1034, he is said to have suddenly appeared in Banaras, plundered its markets from morning till midday, and then left the city and returned to the Punjab with his spoils. How these plundering raids were conducted without any serious engagement with the powers that ruled over the intervening region it is difficult to say.

Three years later Mas'ud personally led a big army to India and conquered Hansi, Sonpat and neighbouring territories in East Punjab. But shortly afterwards the Saljuq Turks repeatedly invaded his dominions and he was forced to leave Ghazni. On his way to India his Turkish and Hindu slaves revolted and killed him.

After the usual struggle for succession Maudud, son of Mas'ud, made himself master of both Ghazni and the Punjab. But the Saljuq attacks continued and, taking advantage of this, the Indian rulers seem to have made a combined effort under the leadership of the Tomara king of Delhi to wrest the Punjab from him. The confederacy of Indian rulers, probably comprising, among others, the Paramara king Bhoja, the Kalachuri Karna and the Chahamana Anahilla (Of Naddula) conquered Hansi, Thaneshwar, Nagarkot, and other places, and at last besieged Lahore itself, in 1043 A.D. The garrison in Lahore were

reduced to great straits, and being in utter despair made a sally. The Indian army, taken unawares, took to flight.

In the light of later events, this failure, entirely due to lack of generalship, may be said to have paved the way for the final conquest of India by the Muslims.

The death of Maudud in 1049 A.D. was followed by the usual palace intrigues, and no less than six Sultans gained and lost the throne during the next ten years. Nevertheless, even during this period of turmoil, the governor of the Punjab reconquered Nagarkot, and Sultan Ibrahim, who ascended the throne in 1059 A.D., led an expedition and conquered a number of places in East Punjab. His son Mahmud, who was appointed governor of the Punjab in 1085 A.D., advanced further into the interior and captured Kanauj and Agra; but he failed to take Ujjain and Kalanjar which were successfully defended by the Paramara and Chandella rulers. During the reign of Ibrahim's successor Mas'ud III (1099-1115 A.D.), the Muslims made another plundering raid beyond the Ganga in course of which they took prisoner Malhi, the king of Kanauj. He is probably to be identified with Gahadavala Madanachandra, and his son Govindachandra defeated the Muslims and secured his release.

On the death of Mas'ud III his two sons successively occupied the throne, but the latter was defeated and killed by another son Bahram with the help of his maternal uncle, the Saljuq Sultan. Bahram ruled from 1118 to c. 1152 A.D. Towards the close of his reign he came into conflict with the Shansabani princes of Ghur, a small principality to the west of Ghazni and east of Heart. It was a dependency of Ghazni, and a member of its ruling family took shelter with Bahram. The latter, however, killed him on suspicion, and this led to a sort of blood-feud between the rulers of Ghazni and Ghur which was accompanied by unusual acts of cruelty and treachery. At last Bahram was defeated and his kingdom fell into the hands of his rival. The city of Ghazni, embellished by the Indian spoils of Sultan Mahmud, was at that time one of the most splendid in the whole world. But Alauddin, king of Ghur, treated the capital of Sultan Mahmud in exactly the same way as the latter had done in his Indian expeditions.

Ghazni was given up to flames, ravage and massacre for three (according to some accounts seven) days. Almost all its magnificent buildings were destroyed and the finest city of Asia was all but blotted from the face of the earth. Thus did terrible Nemesis do her work and

the grave injury done to India was cruelly avenged, though by foreign hands.

Bahram recovered Ghazni before he died, and was succeeded by his son Khusrav Shah. The larger part of his dominion was conquered by the rulers of Ghur, and at last he was driven out of Ghazni by the Ghuzz Turks shortly after 1157 A.D. He fled to Lahore where he ruled till 1160 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Khusrav Malik. Even the Indian dominion of the Ghaznavids showed clear signs of disintegration, and the governors and vassal chiefs practically behaved like independent rulers. All the while hostility continued with the rulers of Ghur. That kingdom shortly passed into the hands of Ghiyasuddin who wrested Ghazni from the Ghuzz Turks in 1174 A.D. and appointed as its ruler his brother Shihabuddin Muhammad, also known as Mu'assuddin Muhammad. The epithet Ghuri is usually attached to both of them in Indian history. Shihabuddin, who was entrusted with eastern affairs, naturally turned his attention to India. He advanced into the Punjab and took Uch, but, as noted above, was disastrously defeated in an expedition of Gujarat by the Chaulukya king Mularaja II. Shihabuddin was, however, more successful in Sindh and twice invaded Lahore in 1181 and 1184 A.D. In 1186 A.D. he led a third expedition and wrested the Punjab from Khusrav Malik, the last king of the Yamini Dynasty of Ghazni.

2. Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghuri

The conquest of the Punjab brought the dominions of the Ghuri kings to the confines of the kingdom of Prithviraja, and a struggle between the two was inevitable. Already in 1178 A.D., while Shihabuddin was marching against Gujarat, he had sent an agent to Prithviraja, apparently with a view to making a common cause against that country. To the credit of Prithviraja it must be said that he did not agree, and even decided to march against the Muslim invader, when the latter conquered Naddula. It is interesting to note that this zeal of the young king to crush the Muslims was not shared by his aged minister Kadambavasa who thought it more expedient to allow the two enemies, the Muslims and the Chaulukyas, to exhaust themselves by fighting with each other. As a matter of fact, Prithviraja desisted from his military preparations as soon as he heard that Mularaja had routed Shihabuddin's army; and, as noted above, even after Shihabuddin had conquered the Punjab, he was engaged in fighting with Chaulukya Bhima, rather than making a common cause with him against the

Muslim invader. It was not till Shihabuddin actually carried on depredations into the kingdom of Prithviraja and conquered the strong fort of Tabarhindah, that the latter awoke to the gravity of the danger.

Indeed, it was impossible to ignore it any longer. The Governor of Delhi and other chiefs reported to him how the Muslims ravaged the land and dishonoured the women, with the result that refugees from the Punjab filled the hills and dales on this side of the border. On hearing this Prithviraja decided to fight Shihabuddin and set out with a vast army. The battle took place in 1191 A.D. near the village of Tarain, or Torawana, 27 miles from Bhatinda. Shihabuddin vigorously charged the centre of the Indian army, but his wings gave way and he was completely surrounded. He was severely wounded, but with great difficulty, and by dint of stubborn courage, he extricated himself with a few followers. Prithviraja gained a complete victory and routed the army of his opponents. It was the last great military achievement of the Hindus like the last bright glimmer of the lamp before it is finally extinguished. But, curiously enough, the retreating and scattered Muslim forces were not pursued and allowed to retire in safety.

Shihabuddin never forgot this great insult, and is reported to have said that "he never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety." Burning for revenge he collected a vast army of the hardy mountaineers of Central Asia, and next year again marched towards India.

After his success in the first battle Prithviraja besieged the fort of Tabarhindah which capitulated after 13 months. Besides recovering this strong fort Prithviraja did not take any advantage of the respite of more than a year to organise proper defence against the future aggression of the enemy. He could easily have conquered the Punjab during the absence of Shihabuddin and held the mountain passes, for the Punjab, newly conquered, was seething with discontent, and there was no strong Ghuri garrison left in India. What is worse, he even did not make any adequate arrangement for defending Tabarhindah which guarded his kingdom on the west. Shihabuddin easily reconquered in a few days the fort which defied Prithviraja for 13 months even after the departure of the army of Shihabuddin. As a matter of fact, Shihabuddin hardly met with any opposition till he reached Tarain, the scene of the first battle, where Prithviraja was waiting with his army. Strangely enough, Prithviraja was waiting with his army. Strangely enough, Prithviraja's veteran general Skanda, who

won the last battle, was engaged in a war elsewhere even at this critical moment. Prithviraja was joined by contingents of the number of the other Indian kings who displayed once more their sense of unity in face of a common danger. He sent a message to Shihabuddin asking him to retire, and the latter complacently replied that he was referring the matter to his brother, the king. Having thus allayed the suspicions of the Indians who were encamped quite close by, Shihabuddin suddenly attacked them about day-break and threw them into confusion. But order was at last restored in the Indian camp and the Indian army advanced to the attack. Baffled in his attempts to overwhelm the Indian army by a surprise attack, Shihabuddin now adopted a new strategy. He kept with him a strong reserve, and having divided the rest of his army into small groups instructed them to attack vehemently and then pretend to retreat. As he foresaw, the Indian army pursued them in hot haste. Once more the lack of generalship and discipline among the Indian soldiers snatched away the victory which their bravery had won. Eager for pursuit they advanced pell-mell in scattered and disorderly groups, while the army of Shihabuddin, even in course of flight, maintained excellent order and discipline. As soon as Shihabuddin saw the rank of his enemy broken and disorderly, he charged home with 12,000 chosen horse which he had kept in reserve, and completely routed the Indian hosts. A number of Indian chiefs vainly endeavored to rally and lay dead on the field. Prithviraja himself was taken prisoner and killed in cold blood. Thus ended the terrible day and the sun of Hindu glory set for even on the fatal plain of Tarain (1192 A.D.).

The rest may be briefly told. Shihabuddin followed up his victory by the conquest of Ajmer which became a tributary State under the young son of Prithviraja. Shihabuddin conquered a number of fortresses and returned to Ghazni, leaving his general Qutbuddin in charge of Indian affairs. Qutbuddin took possession of Delhi and conquered other places. Next year Shihabuddin himself defeated Jayachandra of Kanauj and thereby carried the banner of Islam to Banaras. Shortly afterwards Hariraja, younger brother of Prithviraja, overthrew his nephew and became independent king of Ajmer. But, it is sad to relate, his licentious habits made him very unpopular, and when Qutbuddin invaded Ajmer, there was hardly any opposition at all. But in the last hour of his life Hariraja proved himself worthy of his great ancestry. Instead of surrendering to the enemy and leading an ignoble life of a slave, he burnt himself with his family on a funeral pile. His followers took shelter in Ranthambhor, and Ajmer fell into hands of Qutbuddin.

The eastern conquests were completed by Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji,* an adventurer and a soldier of fortune. He wrested Southern Bihar, defeated Lakshmana Sena of Bengal by a sudden raid upon the city of Nadiya, and conquered Western and Northern Bengal. The only effective check which Qutbuddin received was from the Chaulukya king of Gujarat who was supported by other chiefs. Qutbuddin was defeated and forced to shut himself up at Ajmer till reinforcements from Ghazni enabled him to take the field. He occupied the capital, Anhilwara, but could not subdue the province. He, however, defeated the Chandellas, and the only power in Central India that remained unsubdued was the Paramaras of Malwa. Thus in less than ten years after the second battle of Tarain, the whole of Northern India, with the exception of Eastern Bengal, Northern Bihar (Tirhut), Malwa and Gujarat, passed into the hands of the Ghuri king. But the Chandellas, as noted above, recovered their kingdom and even annexed the dominions ruled by the Kalachuris. Reference has also been made above to the brave resistance offered by some minor powers to the Muslim invaders.

Shihabuddin Ghuri ascended the throne after his brother's death, but was himself killed in 1206, probably by a party of hill tribes called Khokars, on the bank of the Sindhu, in course of his return journey to Ghazni from India. After his death the Ghuri dominions in Northern India passed to Qutbuddin.

It is needless to add that the Mohammedan conquest of India was attended with horrors and cruelties beyond description. When Ajmer was captured, thousands of its inhabitants were put to the sword and the rest sold as slaves; and this was by no means an exceptional incident. Even religious establishments suffered the same fate. So completely did they massacre the monks in a Buddhist monastery in Bihar, that when they looked for somebody to explain the books in the library, not a living soul was to be found. Temples, monasteries, and other splendid monuments were wilfully destroyed and their materials used for buildings mosques.

Subjugation of the Punjab

The Sultan's attention was constantly divided between the east

* His full name is Ikhtiyaruddin Mohammed Bakhtyar Khalji. Some take him to be a son of Bakhtyar. He belonged to the Turkish tribe of Khalji which afterwards gave a line of Sultans to the Muslim empire of Delhi, commonly known as Khilji.

and the west and his far-reaching and unceasing activities extended in both directions with equal vigilance. Having settled some disputes and troubles in Kirman and Kohistan in the west and the north, Mahmud again directed his attention to the settlement of the question of the Punjab. He had humbled the king of the Punjab and taken one of the strongholds of that kingdom, Kangrakot. He determined to capture Nardin another strong place on which probably the king relied. And he arrived in the provinces of India, and "began to devastate the land, to punish the infidels, to overturn the idols and to make an example of high and low. And as to the prince of those accursed ones he sent him prostrate of hell. And when the king of Hind saw these wounds in the nearest and distant parts of his kingdom, he sent his kindred to offer submission" (Utbi, p. 361). Such is the succinct account which Utbi gives of this expedition. Although he mentions Nardin as stormed in the heading of this chapter, he does not describe it. From later historians—Elliot thinks that there were two expeditions and not one, as some suggest, and that by Nardin Utbi means to refer to Naharwala the capital of Gujarat. The second expedition was against the fort of Nandan and is described by Firishta and others. It indeed appears plain, even according to Utbi, that there were two expeditions and the second he describes later on. It is, however, difficult to identify Nardin with Naharwala as Mahmud could not have gone so far south, leaving the Punjab yet unsubjugated. We, therefore, take it that Nardin was some place in the Punjab itself and that Mahmud carried a devastating campaign which compelled the king of India to proffer submission. Who this king was is not mentioned, no doubt one chief is said to have been killed, and it is probable that Anandapala himself was killed in one of these combats. His son Trilochanapala must have offered submission. We have already seen that Al-Beruni has recorded that Anandapala had latterly become a deadly enemy of Mahmud but that Trilochanapala his son was better disposed. We, therefore, take it that Anandapala, instead of being killed in the battle of the confederate Hindus, was killed at this time (1009 or 1010) and Trilochanapala offered terms of submission. Mahmud granted the terms and by these Punjab practically became a subordinate province of the Ghazanavide empire. The terms were as follows: "the king bound himself to tribute and fidelity and appointed sixty yokes (?) of elephants and a payment to be mutually fixed and sent by the nobles of the province and the people to the treasury. And by way of acting as viceroy the king was to keep two thousand men at this court and acknowledge fealty everyday

and month and year, and the succeeding rulers were to obey and follow the same law. The Sultan was content with these conditions!!! and this secured tax became a fixed source of revenue in the book of the finance court of the Empire. Thus, the road for caravans and merchants between the districts of Khorasan and Hind became open" (p. 362).

Such is the normal course of the successive steps in the fall of kingdoms. We are here reminded of the fall of the Maratha kingdom eight centuries later. There was a stubborn struggle in the beginning by the combined Marathas against the English in 1803. The Maratha confederacy was defeated in the battle of Assaye by the greatest general of the English, Wellesley, much as the great Hindu confederacy was defeated by the masterly tactics of Mahmud in 1008 near Hazro. Bajirao like Trilochanapala, submitted and consented to maintain a subsidiary force at Poona, of British regiments. This was the opposite of what was stipulated by Anandpal's son. He, as the usual fashion then was with subordinate kings, promised to maintain at Ghazni a force of two thousand soldiers for the service of the Ghazni a force of two thousand soldiers for the service of the Ghazni empire at his cost. The British method of compelling subordinate kingdoms to maintain a British force at their capital was more effective and efficient for accomplishing extinction and was tantamount to the imposition of a heavy tribute for the time being. That final extinction overtook Trilochanapala soon enough (after about 4 years) as we shall presently see; but in the parallel case of Bajirao, it overtook him after the lapse of 15 years.

This subjugation of the Punjab was necessary in order that Mahmud should securely direct his attention towards the troubles which often arose in the west. And one of these we will specially mention as it has an interest for the Indian reader. In the immediate vicinity of Ghazni towards the west was the small province of Ghor, a mountainous valley inhabited by an unruly tribe which constantly gave trouble to caravans and merchants under the very nose of Mahmud. "The infidelity and the insolence of these inhabitants of Ghor who levied heavy imposts on caravans and travellers on the strength of their appalling cliffs required to be corrected. And the Sultan ordered his army to attack them in their fastness and himself went with his bodyguard and cutting his way through the passes, arrived before the stronghold-nest of the king of Ghor. After stubborn fighting, the Sultan ordered his men to turn their backs and to show as if they were yielding. These doomed ones were deluded and the *Hindu* no longer remained

firm but fascinated by the desire to plunder came into the open plain. Upon this the Sultan wheeled round and laid them all on the couch of sweet sleep. He took the son of the chief as prisoner and carried away as booty, wealth and arms which chief after chief and infidel after infidel had acculumated" (Utbi, pp. 364-65). The inhabitants of the valley of Ghor were originally infidels and even Hindus. They were forcibly converted by Mahmud and in the course of about two hundred years, themselves becoming zealous Mohammedans they conquered the Hindus of India. Secondly, we find here Mahmud employing the same tactics in fighting as were employed by Shivaji and the Marathas (called in Marathi Bakhars the *ganimi kava* or enemy deception). Thirdly, like a great ruler Mahmud always bestowed attention upon the safety of roads for the encouragement of commerce. He wished to see that caravans between Khorasan and Hind should safely travel. Mountain tribes in those days as in later times levied heavy imposts on them whenever the central government was weak. And Mahmud exhibited the same vigilance and power as is exhibited by the British Empire at the present day in this respect.

Battle of Nazin and the Annexation of the Punjab

For four years Punjab remained unmolested. Probably Trilochanapala quietly paid the stipulated tribute without demur and Mahmud also appears to have been engaged in the west. A terrible famine is described by Utbi as raging in Khorasan and its capital Nishapur. He also mentions troubles with Ilekhan the Turk who must have taken advantage of these difficulties. Utbi also describes the conquest of Garjistan (Georgia) which had belonged to the Samani empire and the Shar of which ("the king of Georgia was called Shar, as the king among Hindus was called Rai, among Turks Khan and among Greeks Caesar"—Utbi, p. 377) defied Mahmud, and Mahmud with his usual swiftness and completeness reduced him to subjection. Mahmud then found time to turn his attention of Hindustan. Human feelings would tempt Mahmud to finally annex the Punjab which had been only subjugated and the same would impel even Trilochanapala to rebel and throw off the yoke imposed upon him. It is, therefore, probable that some pretext must have been found by one party or the other to begin the conflict again, as in the parallel case noted before viz. the Maratha war of 1818 wherein after the defeat of Bapu Gokhale Bajirao II finally lost his kingdom.

Utbi describes this conflict thus (pp. 389-392): "The Sultan having in 400 H. (1009) reduced Hindustan and built mosques &c. wished to take possession of the remainder of the land of the infidels. Therefore, he summoned his victorious armies and covered them with great honour. When he arrived at those territories, much snow had fallen and hence he returned to Ghazni but returned again in spring. The king of India sat down under the protection of the mountain and took refuge in a pass and posted elephants in its narrowness. He summoned the cavalry and infantry of his kingdom. And a great army of infidels from Hindustan, Sind and all quarters raged like hornets in heart and heads were cast upon the battle-field like balls. And wherever the elephants came into the engagement, the Moslem army with swords and spears cut their throats and trunks. When the Sultan saw him (his lieutenant Abdulla Tai) in distress, he sent some stars from his special guard and the flame of battle blazed in this way until it was quenched by the water of victory. And at one blast of the good fortune of Mahmud all their affairs were scattered like dust. And they made prizes of their property and elephants. Thus, this territory became exalted amongst the extent of Islam and this victory was entered in the register of expeditions."

From this description it may be inferred that Trilochanapala made a third attempt to collect the forces of many Hindu States for his final fight with Mahmud; and a stubborn and terrible battle was fought which was gained by the Mohammedans through Mahmud's good fortune and the bravery of his bodyguard. This battle was fought in 404 H. or 1014 according to Elliot who quotes Utbi himself for this date though, as above stated, in some copies the year 400 H. is given, and other historians also give the same date. The place where this battle was fought is also in dispute. Utbi mentions, in the heading of his chapter, Nardin; others call the place Ninduna. It is suggested by some that the battle was fought near the mountains of Jud and the hill of Balnath overhanging the Jhelum. Elliot, however, thinks that the pass referred to by Utbi is the Margalla pass (Elliot II, p. 451). Elliot gives the following further account of the battle from a fuller description of it by Nizamuddin Ahmad:

"In 404 H. the Sultan marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated in the mountain of Balnath. Puru-Jaipal left veteran troops for its protection while he himself passed into one of the valleys of Kashmir. Having taken the fort by mining and other operations, the

Sultan went against Puru-Jaipal but he fled further. The Sultan obtained great spoil and many slaves. Having converted many infidels and spread Islam, the Sultan returned to Ghazni." Elliot thinks that the chief who fought at Ninduna was Bhims, son of Jaipal. In fact, he refers to Utbi for this name given as Nidar Bhim. We do not find that name in the translation we have used of Utbi. Possibly there are variations in the available copies of Utbi. Possibly there are variations in the available copies of Utbi. But strangely enough Elliot does not go on to explain who Puru Jaipal was. We plainly see here a misreading of the name Trilochanapala who was the king at this time and that name may easily be read in Persian or Arabic as Puru Jaipal. Jaipal and even Anandapala were already dead and Trilochanapala was on the throne of the Shahis in the Punjab. His son was Bhima and it is probable that Trilochanapala retired into Kashmir leaving his fearless son (Nidar Bhim) to fight this battle. The battle was lost and the further account of Utbi may be construed as showing that the Punjab or at least its largest part was annexed to the kingdom of Ghazni. As Al-Beruni has stated that Trilochanapala died after this date, having lived upto 1021, the other account may also be accepted and it may be believed that he and even Bhima escaped into Kashmir and for about seven years more reigned in the hilly submontane districts of the Punjab at the base of the Himalayas.

But Stein the editor of the *Rajatarangini* thinks that the important battle fought between Trilochanapala and Mahmud on the Tausi river which falls into the Jhelum from the west in the Hazara District which is conterminous with Kashmir and so vividly described by Kalhana in that history of Kashmir was fought at this time (404 H. or 1013). In this battle Trilochanapala was assisted by a strong contingent from Kashmir under Tunga. Trilochanapala advised him to fight a cautious battle with the wily turks by taking the support of the hills. But Mahmud used his usual stratagem, and sent a contingent beyond the Tausi river which being attacked and defeated by Tunga fled back across the river. Tunga was emboldened and came into the open and joined battle with Mahmud* (Raj, VII 47). The battle was hotly contested, many Kashmir officers fell in battle and Trilochanapala himself

* तरुष्कससरे यादन्न यूयं कृतबुद्धयः । आलस्यविवशास्ताबधिष्टतारिमन्निरेस्तटे ॥
हम्पीरेण तदा सैन्यं जिज्ञासार्थं विसर्जितम् । तौषीपारे ततस्तीर्त्वा मितप्रायैर्वददितैः ॥
ततस्तेनाहिबोत्नेकमपि शाहिः पुनः पुनः । जगादाहश्तत्वजः पूर्वा तामेव संविदम् ॥
सर्वाभिसारेणगच्छताहवविशातदः । प्रातस्ततः स्वयं कोपातुरुष्कानीकनायकः ॥

performed deeds of valour. The cause for the Hindus was, however, destined to be lost and Mahmud was victorious. Trilochanapala escaped into Kashmir never to return. And Kalhana utters a painful lamentation here over the final destruction of the Shashi kingdom of Kabul. If we reconcile this account with the statement of Al-Beruni that Trilochanapala ruled till 1021 and Bhima ruled for five years after him, we have either to postpone this battle to 1021 A.D. or to believe that Trilochanapala lived and ruled till 1021 some other insignificant portion of the hilly submontane part of the Punjab or went to Kanauj and there again fought with Mahmud.

Lastly, it would be interesting to note that the Jhelum Gazetteer identifies Ninduna with Nandana a hill fort in the Salt Range where there are some remains of ancient buildings belonging to Kashmir rule. It states that the district was once in the possession of Kashmir and then went under the Shahis of Kabul, "Anandapala and Jaipal described by Mohammedan historians as kings of Lahore being really Shahi kings of Kabul." But when the Gazetteer quotes Firishta as placing the capture of Nandana in 1008, it may be noted that this is very probably a mistake, the year 400 being a misprint for 404 H. The conversion of the Rajputs of the Salt Range dates according to the Gazetteer from the day of Shihabuddin Ghorī. "Though it may be that Rajputs and Jats and others were forcibly converted by Mahmud, yet they must have returned to Hinduism as soon as his back was turned." But we have to remember that this district remained in the possession of Mahmud and his successors at Ghazni ever since this conquest. The Mohammedan Rajputs of the Salt Range, the Janjuas, are believed to be the most ancient inhabitants of the Punjab being descended from Anu the fifth son of Yayati and it is even though that Jaipal of Lahore was himself a Janjua (Jhelum Gazetteer).

Utbi relates that a stone was brought put of the temple the writing on which declared that the building was forty thousand years old. "What a folly" the Sultan observed "when the learned of the world have agreed that the world is itself not more than seven thousand years old!!!" To us in the twentieth century, both the statement on the stone and its criticism appear equally absurd. Probably this was a very ancient inscription dating from the time of Asoka and the people in the neighbourhood not knowing its exact date assigned it to a fabulous age. Nandana in the Salt Range is undoubtedly an ancient place as its remains indicate.

The Fort of Nandana

The Jhelum Gazetteer thus describes this fort (pp. 46-47) "Fourteen miles due east of Choa Saidan Shah between the villages of Baganwala below and Aru above, the outer Salt Range makes a remarkable dip. There is a steep rocky hill which has absolute command of the route across the range. There are extensive remains here of a temple, a fort and a large village. The temple is in ruins. It is like other temples in the range in the Kashmirian style; but the platform on which it stands is of very great age and older than the temple. In later times a mosque was added close to the temple and is also now in a ruinous state. In its courtyard is a fragment of an inscription of the same period which is now too far gone to be legible. This fort was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, a fact which has strangely enough hitherto escaped notice."

It may be added that Bhera which is about twelve miles distant from Nandana might have served as a third capital to Anandapala when Wahind was lost. The present town of Bhera is on the east bank of the Jhelum, but we know* that the old town was on the west bank where mounds still show the ancient site and where ancient coins are still found. Bhera even now is, like Poona, a centre of learning, trade and art and the elite of the Punjab lawyers, engineers &c. come from Bhera. They are usually Kshatriyas by caste who have taken to civil professions. Bhera was also a centre of learned Brahmins as also of skilled artisans in wood, metal and cotton. In short Bhera exhibits all the marks of being a capital city, and lying as it does, midway between Lahore and Wahind may have served as a third capital to the Shahi kings.

The Shahi Kings with Revised Dates and Their Coins

We gave the probable dates of Shahi kings estimated on the usual average of 20 year per reign going back from 1021 A.D. given by Al-Beruni as the last date of Trilochanapala's reign, as given here in the margin. It is necessary to revise these dates from the detailed information available now in the writings of Utbi and other chroniclers.

* The Imperial Gazetteer under Bhera states that the old town was on the west bank of the Jhelum and was plundered by Mahmud as also later by an army of Janghiz. The new town was founded in 1549. A.D. round mosque which still exists and is now a terminal Railway Station.

It is certain that Jaipal ruled till 1001 A.D. He may be taken to have ruled from 960 *i.e.* for forty years. We know that he burnt himself on a pyre both on account of his dishonour as of extreme old age. Wahind was taken possession of by Mahmud; and Anandapala must have resided at Bhera the next city in the kingdom which was on the trade route from Wahind *viz.* Hazro and the Margalla pass and caravans took the fruit of Kabul to Peshawar and Lohore and Multan via Bhera and took back Indian goods, cotton &c. to Kabul. Anandapala was killed in the battle of Nardin in 1009 or 1010 A.D. and Trilochanapala made his submission and accepted terms and ruled without molestation till 1014 A.D. In that year Mahmud again invaded India and was confronted by Trilochanapala in the Margalla pass. He was defeated and he escaped into Kashmir. His son Nidar Bhim defended Nandana fort and the access to Bhera. He too fled and retired into Kashmir. Bhera was taken by Mahmud and plundered. Trilochanapala ruled in some hilly part of the Punjab near Kashmir till 1021. He was immediately pursued in 1014 and was defeated in the battle of the Tausi fought in that year or in 1021. He then again escaped into Kashmir and thence to Kanauj. However, we do not believe that Trilochanapala went to Kanauj his mention there by later historians being a misreading for Rajyapala. He died as stated by Al-Beruni in 1021 probably in the battle on the Tausi and Bhima died five years later. Perhaps he went to Kanauj and died in the battle of the Rahib. One prince of the family is spoken of as taking refuge with Bhoja of Malwa (Sachan).

That these kings ruled from Kabul of Lahore is conceded by almost all historians. Sachan the translator of Al-Beruni writes in his preface to the latter's *India* "When Al-Beruni wrote, the Pala dynasty which ruled Kabulistan and the Punjab had disappeared from the theatre of history and their dominions were in the firm grasp of Mahmud and his slave officers." This is incontestably proved by the fact that coins of these kings are found all over the Punjab. Thus in the *Gazetteer of the Ludhiana District* we read that coins of Samantadeva who was king of Kabul and the Punjab are found in the mound of the dilapidated town of Sunet; no coins of Delhi kings or of Mohammedan kings are found, though coins of ancient kings, Kushan and others, are also found which shows that Sunet was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni."

Of the Shahi kings, Samanta was a great king whose accession is placed by Thomas in 935 (but this is not certain, Elliot II, p. 425)

and he appears to have conquered the Punjab as his coins are plentifully found there. Coins of Bhima are also found though rarely in the Punjab, but they are plentifully found in Kabulistan. We have seen that he founded Bhimanagar below Kot Kangra. He was grandfather of Didda the notorious queen oppressor of Kashmir. No coins of Jaipal have been, strangely enough, yet found but coins of Anandapala are found in plenty in the Punjab and even the northern parts of the Gangetic Duab: (ditto). No coins have been found of Trilochanapala or Bhimapala who probably did not rule over any part of the Punjab.

These rulers appear to have been Saivites from their coins which contain a figure of Nandi (Sivas' bulle) but Bhima I seems to have been a Vaishnava as he is said in the Tarangini to have built a temple of Keshava in Kashmir. Vaishnavism, appears to have been prevalent at this time in the Punjab as also in Kabulistan.

Elliot mentions that the last king Bhima wrote a letter to Chandrarai (of Bundelkhand) advising him not to fight with Mahmud; and quotes Utbi as his authority (p. 427) extract from whose work is given at page 48 (Elliot II). Different copies of the Yamini read differently at certain places especially in giving names. The translation which we have used of the Yamini does not contain this name; and we have taken the advice given to Chandrarai to retire as coming from Rajyapala of Kanauj which is more probable as Bhima could not have come so far south. But if he did, as his father Trilochanapala is also represented to have done, he must have then been an ally of Mahmud whose subordinate he had become. The mention of his uncle being converted to Mohammedanism which we have in one copy also, seems to refer to one Sevakapala (nabira nuptra-Jaipal *i.e.* a daughter's son of Jaipal) who had accepted Islam and who had been appointed by Mahmud governor of Peshawar. Subsequently he revolted and Mahmud attacked him and he was eventually killed.

The Expedition to Thanesar

We may pause here a little and see how the small kingdom of Ghazni had become an extensive empire by this time. It is sometimes urged that Mahmud merely undertook plundering expeditions without the object of annexing territories and solidifying a powerful state. This appears to be wrong from what we have seen of the expansion of Mahmud's kingdom upto this time. He achieved a conscious expansion of his territory and solidified his state by forcible conversion. In this

he was actuated by religious zeal as well as by a correct appreciation of the essentials of a strong state. He first secured Khorasan and other provinces immediately to the west of his kingdom over which even in the days of Samani supremacy Sabuktigin had ruled. He next turned his attention to the East. The provinces of Jalalabad and Kabul (Lamghanat) were already annexed and forcibly converted to Mohammedanism. Mahmud first secured the Bannu district of the present N.W. Frontier province which was an ancient tract of the Hindus and was clearly in possession of the Shahis of Kabul. There are extensive mounds near Bannu which show that this district said to be settled first by Bharata, brother of Rama (vide Ramayuan Uttarakanda), was in the possession of the Kabul Shahis. "In these mounds coins are found plentifully not only of Azij and Vasudeva of Indo-Bactrian period but also of the last Brahmin kingly line of Kabul"; but they contain no coins of any Mohammedan kings showing that the city was destroyed by Mahmud. The old road to Hindustan from Ghazni was via modern bannu and the Kurrum and it fell into disuse when the Khyber pass was opened (Bannu Gazetteer). This district was, it seems, seized by Mahmud first and the people forcibly converted in order to enable him to pass over to India easily. Mahmud annexed the Peshawar District next, capturing Wahind after the signal defeat of jaipal in the plain of Peshawar, Wahind was the capital of the Kabul kingdom and was also on the then second route to India, being a little above the junction of the Kabul river with the Indus. The basins of the two rivers Kramu and Kubha (Kurrum and kabul) well-known even in the Rigveda and situate in the first home of the Vedic Aryans, were thus in the hands of Mahmud and were now Mohammedan lands. Mahmud hereafter extended, his kingdom westward by reducing the more distant provinces of the Samani empire and also eastward by first acquiring Multan which was already a Mohammedan State as also by annexing the kingdom of Bhatia which, as shown before, lay to the Southwest of Multan and between the Indus and the Jhelum. Finally, he annexed the Punjab, the remaining province of the Kabul Shahis. He did not for reasons which we will explain later on, apply to this province the process of forcible conversion though probably even here he appears to have converted many people. Thus, the extension of the empire upto this point was by the gradual absorption of *neighbouring* provinces just in the same manner as the British empire gradually extended from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras by the gradual absorption of *neighbouring* provinces. We see Bengal first acquired by the British,

then Bihar, then the U.P. and finally the Punjab by defeating the Sikhs. The process was here as with Mahmud the same, *viz.*, first subjection with retention of previous powers as payers of tribute and then total absorption. Having thus extended his rule over the Punjab, Mahmud next turned his attention to the conquest and the plundering of the provinces further east. And the first kingdom which naturally he would attack was the kingdom of Thanesar which was immediately to the southeast of the Punjab.

That there was a kingdom at Thanesar is probable, as Al-Beruni mentions Thanesar in his geographical chapter. (Strangely enough he mentions Thanesar once between the Jumna and the Ganges and again in the place where it should properly come; probably the first name has to be corrected). There was also a famous deity at Thanesar and there is one even now. Mohammedan later writers name it Jagsom, a word which cannot be reduced to its Sanskrit equivalent. Here was the ancient kingdom of Pratapavardhana, father of Harsha the last Buddhist emperor of Northern India. Mahmud is said to have undertaken this expedition against Thanesar to take possession of some celebrated elephants which Utbi calls by the name of Silman, while later writers call them Moslem, as they bent down, in prayer as it were, like Mohammedans, in jenuflexion. Probably all the motives for Mahmud's expeditions were present *viz.* desire of obtaining plunder, of breaking a famous idol and of subjugating an adjacent kingdom. Utbi describes this expedition as follows (p. 394-5): "Accordingly the Sultan marched towards Thanesar with an army educated in the chamber of the sacred war and passed a desert so dreadful that a bird would not fly over its atmosphere. But providence granted aid and they came to that place. Before them they found a running stream full of water, lofty mountains and ground full of impracticable stones. The enemy retired into the mountains. The Sultan crossed the river by two fords and attack the enemy and (by evening) scattered them among the rocks. And as for the stamping elephants which constituted their confidence they left them on the spot. The Sultan's elephants went after them and brought them to the Sultan's halting place. The army shed so much blood that the water of the river become undrinkable."

The above account is simple and indicates that there was a stubborn fight with some chief not mentioned and that the elephants for which Mahmud principally came were secured. There is no mention of an idol being broken, but Utbi in the beginning mentions idol-

breaking as one of the objects of Mahmud. The identification of Thanesar becomes doubtful owing to the difficulty of arriving at a stream after marching through a desert which does not fit in with the actual position of Thanesar (Elliot, Vol. II, 452). But we must remember that Utbi does not write from personal knowledge and is always hyperbolical in his descriptions. There is the river Sarasvati near Thanesar and the Karnal District Gazetteer, in describing its physical aspects, states that there are hilly tracts to the north of Thanesar from which torrential rivers come such as the Sarasvati (p. 1). The battle may not have been fought in the immediate vicinity of Thanesar but at some distance. The battle is rightly placed in 1014 A.D. as the Gazetteer also does, a year after the annexation of the Punjab and Mahmud may have come upon Thanesar suddenly through the desert via Multan. The whole of the Punjab was now under him and he could take any route he liked. He had visited Multan ere this a second time and punished the Mohammedans there for again relapsing into the Karmatian heresy.

The account given by Firishta of this expedition is, we think, wholly imaginary. Firishta places this event in 402 H. (1011 A.D.) and relates that Anandapala on learning Mahmud's intention to attack Thanesar and desecrate the famous idol there named Jagsom, although he was subordinate to Mahmud, submitted a respectful protest. But Mahmud refused saying that the followers of the religion of Mahomet exerted themselves in the subversion of idolatry to obtain reward in heaven. The Raja of Delhi thereupon called upon the Hindus of the whole of India to come together to defend the idol of Thanesar. But Mahmud attacked Thanesar before the Hindus could assemble. After capturing Thanesar, Mahmud wished to march on Delhi; his nobles told him that he could not safely do it till he had conquered and annexed the Punjab behind him. All this is pure imagination as Delhi was not then in such a leading position as to appeal to the Hindus of the whole of India. It was, if it had come into existence, an insignificant subordinate kingdom. The expedition again according to Utbi took place after the reduction of the Punjab to the position of and annexed province at the battle of Nazin (Nandana) and when Anandapala was already dead. Firishta by ante-dating this event has given this imaginary glowing account. Even Elliot rightly says here, though he restricts his remark to Delhi only, "There is nothing in the Yamini to warrant the reference to Delhi; the existence of which is nowhere alluded to by

contemporary writers." "The frequent mention by Firishta of Delhi and its Raja in connection with the Ghazni kings does not rest on solid foundation." (p. 454) The fact is that writers coming four or five centuries later cannot divest themselves of their surroundings and must bring in Delhi which was no famous in their days.

The Sack of Mathura

The last expedition convinced Mahmud that it was possible to extend his raids into Mid-India where the city of Mathura famed for its temples and their riches was situate. He had also a cause of quarrel with the Pratihara Emperor of Northern India, Rajyapala, as he had twice assisted the kings of the Punjab in their fights with him. But he took time before he undertook this distant expedition and made due preparations. He wished to secure his rear and there were troubles in his western provinces. Utbi has related them in his history with fullness. He mentions also a change of viziers at Ghazni. The government at Ghazni was an ordered one and Mahmud exercised strict control over the governors of provinces. Khorasan was the centre of learning in those days and learned men from there were appointed to high offices. The language of the learned was Persian, but the new vizier who was himself a poet and a man of learning ordered all documents to be drawn up in Arabic. Ilekhan king of Turks died about this time and he was succeeded by his brother. While Mahmud was attacking and subduing idolaters in Hindustan, the idolaters of Chin and Mangolia came down upon the Mohammedan Turks of Kashgar with a force of one hundred thousand men. This was a precursor of those dreadful inroads of the Moguls under Changiskhan which devastated Asia two centuries later. Togankhan, brother of Ilekhan, sent for succour from all Mohammedan states to oppose this formidable invasion and probably Mahmud sent a contingent. A fierce battle was fought and the idolaters of Chin like the idolaters of Hind were defeated and almost annihilated. Mahmud continued his previous friendly relations with the Turks under Togankhan and cemented them further by marrying a daughter of Ilekhan to his son Mas'ud, whom he appointed governor of Balkh.

Utbi also describes how Mahmud by his zeal for religion had become renowned and "by his intelligence had even come to be considered a guide in expounding the law" and "watched that the ordained statutes should be kept pure from the dust of innovation." The sultan commissioned spies to discover heretics and their places of

meetings. They were brought from different places and cities to the court and impaled on trees or stoned. And the venerable Abu Bakar, a religious nobleman, coincided in opinion with the Sultan. Utbi further relates how a certain Tahirti who claimed to be a Sayyad and an emissary from the king and Khalifa of Egypt with letters and robes was proceeding to Ghazni but was stopped by order of Mahmud at Herat and conveyed back to Nishapur, capital of Khorasan and there tried for heresy and finally executed with the consent of Kadir Billah the Khalifa of Baghdad, Mahmud sternly suppressed heresy as well as the schism of Khilafat throughout his extensive dominions and thus acquired fame throughout the Mohammedan world (p. 444). It is no wonder that zealous soldiers collected at Ghazni to take part in his religious wars against infidels which by the destruction of idols and acquisition of plunder secured advantage in the next as well as in this word.*

Having conquered Khawarism which had meantime rebelled and having annexed that land to his other kingdoms, "the Sultan thought he would undertake a third sacred conquest and he arrived at Bost and examined the accounts of collectors. The conquest of Hindu territories so as to become the territory of Islam were overflowing and "the veil of infidelity remained nowhere except in Kashmir." "Nearly twenty thousand men had come from the plains of Mawarannahar (beyond the Oxus) through zeal for Islam. They excited the purpose of the Sultan and he desired to proceed with those troops to Kanauj. This was a country quite unknown to foreign kingdoms."

Utbi thus describes the march to Kanauj and the fight near Mathura. "From the rivers Jihun (Sind) and Jhelum and Chand he went straight to Tibet. And wherever he came, envoys came to meet him, offering submission and allegiance. And when he arrived near Kashmir, Habali son of Shasin, general of the army of Kashmir joined his service. As he was told that there was no room for any one who had not accepted Islam, he took his position with robbers (skirmishers) and went before the troops. The army passed valley after valley and every night before the crowing of the cock the sound of fife and drum arose (vide description of the march of Harsha by Bana Vol. I, p. 143). On the 29th of Rajab in 409 H. (1018) they left the Jumna behind and came to the castle of Barm (Baran) in the country of Harun; the king was the greatest of the sovereigns of India but when he saw the army sea, he came down with about 10,000 men and accepted Islam. From hence

they came to the fortress of Kaljand who had immense riches, strong cavalry and grand army. He arranged his army, his cavalry and his elephants and waited for the approach of the Sultan in a wood into whose intricacies a ray of the sun could not penetrate and from whose leaves and branches a needle would not reach the ground. The Sultan commanded his advanced guard to force themselves into the midst of the forest. They found a road from the upper castle and when the green sea struck out "Allah Akbar" they stood firm for a time and made charges from their position. At length it became known that all events are in the grasp of destiny and the well-formed scimitar, though its force may be extreme and its edge sharp, is but a vassal to the decree of fate if it penetrate to the Moslem blood. The despicable ones threw themselves into the river in order that the current might be the means of their preservation, but some came to the sword and some were drowned. Five thousand perished and Kaljand drew his dagger, killed his wife and ripping himself up went to hell. Of their wealth 185 heads of elephants and other plunder came to the Sultan. In the city, there was a place of worship of the Indian people, and when he came to that place he saw a city of wonderful fabric and conception, so that one might say this is a building of paradise."

From this poetical but concise account of the secretary of Mahmud who was probably in Ghazni, we can determine the course of the expedition by the help of other information. Mahmud marched with an army of about one lakh of men of whom 20,000 were irregular amateur Turkish soldiers from beyond the Oxus. But he kept strict discipline on the march, as a great commander does, rising in the early morning and marching throughout the day. For he had to surprise the enemy by the celerity of his movement. He marched along the foot of the Himalayas in order probably to avoid crossing big rivers lower down. And on the way, every castle must have submitted to, or been conquered by such a formidable force. He did not allow Hindus, in the name of submission, to join his army and create a discordant treacherous element and he asked the Kashmir contingent to march ahead. (It is difficult to imagine that Kashmir could have really sent one and we will speak about this later on). Having crossed the Jumna, on the 20th of Rajjab or in December 1018 he marched southwards without crossing the Ganges, through Antarbhed, as Kanauj was on the west bank of the river and as he did not wish to place that river before him as an obstacle in attacking Kanauj. Naturally he was opposed here

and there by feudatory Rajput chiefs, but generally they submitted as the king of Baran did. Baran is undoubtedly the modern Bulandshahar; it is an ancient town sometimes identified with the Varanavata of the Mahabharata and ancient coins of the second century B.C. of Saka satraps and Kushans have been found there as also a copper-plate belonging to the Gupta period. There was a feudatory king probably belonging to the Dor Rajput clan and his name was Haradatta (which was read as Harun in Persian). A copper-plate belonging to the line of kings dated 1096 A.D. has been found here, giving the genealogy of this line and in it Haradatta is the 7th king and he submitted to Mahmud (Bulandshahar Gazetteer). Probably his conversion with ten thousand of his followers is an hyperbole of Utbi Marching southwards, Mahmud was opposed near Mathura by one Kaljand with a considerable force and this Kulachandra fearlessly and stubbornly fought with the vast army of Mahmud. He was most probably a general of, and a feudatory chieftain under, the Pratihara emperor Rajyapala of Kanauj.

Mathura the most sacred city of the Hindus, especially the Vaishnavas, was in the heart of the empire of Kanauj and the Pratihara emperor were often devotees of Vishu. Mathura had been founded by Satrugna, a brother of Rama and it was the birth-place of Srikrishna. Mathura was sacred to the Buddhists also and during the Hindu period its importance still more increased. The superb temples built there and the immense treasures accumulated therein could not be given up to the idolbreaker and plunderer without a struggle and Rajyapala though unwilling to sacrifice himself must have sent a strong force to oppose Mahmud. The battle is said to have been fought in a wood; and the place has been identified with the village of Mahaban on the maps. And there must have been then a great forest surrounding the place; for this is the place where Nanda lived and reared Srikrishna in a forest, which long remained uncut down to recent times. The place is about six miles from Mathura and Shahajahan is recorded to have killed tigers in the jungle (Mathura Gazetteer). There is a small hill and a fort there and Kulachandra may even have been the hereditary protector of this Mahaban which is also a sacred place. He fought stubbornly with his infantry, cavalry and elephants and Utbi as usual attributes the success of Mahmud to the dictates of fate. Mahmud had no doubt come with an irresistible force, but it may be related to the credit of the Hindus that they did not deliver their sacred city to plunder and devastation without making a frantic effort to save it. Kulachandra in the usual

Rajput fashion when unable to avert his fate killed his wife first and himself thereafter. The almost superhuman grandeur of the city of Mathura and the immense booty which Mahmud undoubtedly got in its sack are thus described by Utbi.

"They had built one thousand castles which they had made idol-temples and in the midst of the city they had built a temple higher than all, to delineate the beauty and decoration of which the pens of all writers and the pencils of all painters would be powerless. In the memoir which the Sultan wrote of this journey he thus declares that if any one should undertake to build a fabric like that, he would expend thereon one hundred thousand packets of a thousand dinars and would not complete it in two hundred years with the assistance of the most ingenious masters. And among the mass of idols there were five idols made of pure gold of the height of five cubits; and one had a jacinth arranged on it which the Sultan would have bought in the bazar gladly for fifty thousand dinars; and another had a sapphire of azure water of one solid piece weighing four hundred *miskals*. From the feet of that idol they got 400 *miskals* weight of gold. Of silver the idols were so many that they who estimated their weights took a long time in weighing them. They devastated all that city and the Sultan passed therefrom towards Kanauj, leaving the greater part of his army there."

Such is the account, painful to a Hindu, of the sack of Mathura by Mahmud in the declining days of the imperial Pratihara kings of Kanauj. Wealth always has passed from the weak to the strong and one is reminded here of the sack of Rome by Alaric in the declining days of the Roman Empire so graphically described by Gibbon "Eleven hundred and sixty years after the foundation of the Imperial city which had subdued and civilized a considerable part of mankind, it was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia. The recently converted Goth spared the Vatican and many Christians found asylum there; but a cruel slaughter was made of the Romans; gold and jewels were removed and the palaces of Rome were stripped of their splendid furniture. Many a statue was melted for its precious material and many a vase was shattered into fragments by the stroke of a battle-axe. It is not easy to compute the multitude who from a honourable position and prosperous fortune were suddenly reduced to the miserable position of captives. Fugitives from Rome filled the provinces and this awful catastrophe of Rome filled the astonished empire with grief and terror.

Grief and terror must have seized the Emperor of Northern India and Rajyapala, like Honorarius the emperor of Rome, fled and was neither in Mathura nor in Kanauj but was already in Bari beyond the Ganges, a place not yet identified. Mahmud must have heard all this through his informers. He, however, took care to take an augury on the Koran and pursued Rajyapala beyond the Ganges with a small force that he may be tempted to come to a fight. Utbi rightly describes him as the chief of the kings of India and says that all kings bent their necks to him and acknowledged his power and dignity. The name of this king, we now know, was Rajyapala a word which might be read in Persian as Raja Jaipal or Haipal and Elliot in the absence of the epigraphic evidence we now possess, it is no wonder, identified him perhaps, he thought, was acknowledged king even in Mid-India. Later Mohammedan historians call him by various other names which are all absurd guesses and some have called him Kunvarpala *i.e.* heir apparent of Jaipal. On the 8th of Shaban (January 1019, Elliot II, p. 457) "Mahmud reacted Kanauj where a mountain rose before him and his army passed the Ganges to pursue the fugitive emperor. As the Sultan did not probably come at him, he (returned and) reduced the seven fortresses of Kanauj placed on the margin of the water of the Ganges" (Utbi, p. 457). "Nearly 10,000 temples were built in these castles and the lying idolators declared that the fabrics were two or three hundred thousand years old." Kanauj is an ancient town supposed to be ruled by the Vedic king Kusika father of Visvamitra and its sacredness was as great as that of Mathura. It was a flourishing city at this time and its grandeur had begun in the days of Harsha four hundred years before. It was already a vast city in his days as recorded by Hiuen Tsang. The greater number of the people had left the place and the Sultan took the forts in one day and plundered them. Kanauj appears, however, to have been not as grand as Mathura. The glowing description given by Mahmud is sometimes wrongly transferred to Kanauj but from Utbi it is clear that it belongs in reality to Mathura. Mahmud is not clearly stated to have destroyed the temples here as at Mathura.

"The Sultan thence turned to Manj a fortified place of the Brahmins" and they for a time resisted him but finding resistance unavailable "they threw themselves down from the castle while some killed themselves with darts and the edge of swords." What place this was has again not been ascertained. It must have been a place lower

down on the Ganges and said to be in the present Etawa District. From hence the Sultan came to the totress of 'Aster' held by Jandbal the Violent. "This fortress was situated in the midst of a forest upon an eminence and deep moats were drawn around it." This place is identified with Asni now a village on the western bank of the Ganges in the Fatehpur district where there is even now a strong fort on the Ganges. Its chief was probably subordinate to Kanauj and likely to give trouble. Having subdued this chieftain, Mahmud directed his course towards Chandrarai who was the owner of a very strong fortress." This was of course the Chandel king, the owner of the almost impregnable fort of Kalanjar, who was an independent king, as even Utbi relates that "he had never owned submission to any one and knew nothing but boasting and pride" (p. 450).

Utbi mentions here a quarrel between Jandbal the Violent (perhaps a chief belonging to the ancient Gautama clan which even now inhabits the Fatehpur District—Fatehpur Gazetteer—or a Sengar chief whose descendants are now on the south of the Jumna and known as the Maharajas of Jagmanpur in the Jalaun District) and Chandrarai, which cannot be well understood and in the midst of this quarrel Mahmud came upon Chandrarai who "depending upon the repelling power of his forts and his numerous army determined to oppose the Sultan. But Haibal advised him not to fight and he retired with his army and treasures into a mountain." Utbi attributes this advice of Haibal to the treacherous motive of taking possession of the fort (probably Kalpi) of Chandrarai himself when the Sultan had defeated him; but "the Sultan without stopping to reduce the fort pursued Chandrarai into his place of retirement for three successive days and killed many men and seized their arms and accoutrements. They took some elephants by force and others came willingly whom they gave the name of Khudadad or God-given. They obtained from the treasure of Chandrarai three thousand packets of gold, silver and jewels and sapphires and so great an abundance of slaves that the price of each did not exceed ten dirhams. The Sultan returned to Ghazni and the renown of his prosperity extended from the east to the west."

This certainly was the most extended, the most fruitful and the most energetic expedition undertaken by Mahmud in which he came as far south as modern Cawnpore and Kalpi. Later Mohammedan historian and Firishta especially have made many incongruous statements and additions in consequence of their ignorance of the real

history of the period and even of the geography of Antarbéd. And European historians have been at pains to explain the movements of Mahmud by relying chiefly on Firishta. But as Elliot has pointed out all this arose from following Firishta too implicitly without referring to more original and authentic sources (p. 408). That principal source is the *Yamini* of Utbi and we have given the above account from it. The real probable course of Mahmud after entering the Antarbéd appears to be this: he moved via Meerut and Baran south as far as Mahaban, then crossed the Jumna and plundered Mathura. He then repossessed the Jumna, arrived at Kanauj, crossed the Ganges to frighten Rajyapala and returning took Kanauj. Going south through Antarbéd he defeated a powerful chief and crossing the Jumna again at Kalpi pursued Chandrarai into the mountains but not as far as Kalanjar. He recrossed the Jumna at Kalpi and returned as he had come through the Antarbéd. The same course is described in the history of Nizamuddin Ahmed, an extract from which is given by Elliot (vol. II, pp. 460-1) in which Nizamuddin makes only a few alterations in what Utbi has stated.

The real difficulty is in determining the names and actions of Hindu chiefs and we have already stated on the basis of epigraphic evidence now available which was not before Elliot that the king of Kanauj was the Pratihara emperor Rajyapala and the Chandrarai was the Chandel king Ganda both of whom had assisted Anandapala in his fight with Mahmud. Mahmud would certainly have not returned without giving a lesson to both. The advice which Haibal (Rajyapala) gave to Chandrarai appears to us to be a friendly advice and both escaped without being reduced to subjection. This must have troubled Mahmud and this is, in our view, the reason why he returned again next year as described by Utbi, Nizamuddin Ahmed and even Firishta.

The year is not given by Utbi and Nizamuddin gives 400 H while Firishta gives it as 412 which Elliot considers most probable. Nizamuddin states that when Mahmud heard that Raja Ganda had killed the Raja of Kanauj for having recognised and submitted to the Sultan, he resolved to invade his territory. But this event must have happened later and Nizamuddin is wrong in assigning this cause for this expedition. For then there was no reason for attacking Kanauj and its chief Haibal and defeating him at the battle of the Rahib as Utbi and Nizamuddin both describe. Further we are not yet told by Utbi that Jaipal (Rajyapala) had submitted to the Sultan. He had fled to Bari

and had not come to any fight with Mahmud. To completely subjugate him the next expedition was undertaken by Mahmud. And it appears that like Shivaji or any astute general, Mahmud did not inform even his army that he was proceeding against Rajyapala. Utbi says that Mahmud set out with the avowed intention of punishing the Afghan robbers who from their mountain fastnesses troubled caravans. Having done this Mahmud suddenly turned towards Hindustan "passed the desert and left behind fords and passages of rivers, ravaged the country as he passed and arrived at the river Rahib (not identified) whose whirlpools could carry away horsemen. Here in a fitting place Jaipal (Rajyapala) had halted and would not permit any one to pass the water. The Sultan ordered hides to be inflated and eight men at night threw themselves into water. And Rajyapala sent five elephants and a body of men to oppose them but they held on and pierced those elephants through and through with arrows and bore the men to the ground. And the Sultan encouraged every one to swim saying "we ought to endure the toil of a day for the rest of a whole life." and men holding horses' manes swam over. We are reminded here of a similar feat accomplished by Govind III, when he attacked Kanauj itself. And they killed many men and brought seventy elephants to the Sultan's yoke by compulsion. The infidels fled leaving their treasures as booty. The Sultan had taken augury from the Koran and the promise was fulfilled and "the Sultan was raised on the effectual settlement of the seat of justice and felt assured of extended prosperity and empire." Here ends Utbi's account of this expedition and even here Utbi does not mention that Rajyapala submitted and even that Mahmud returned to Ghazni. It, however, seems that Mahmud did not retire without obtaining a formal submission from Rajyapala who, as we shall have to state later on, must have promised to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan. Thus fell the empire of Kanauj, though the Pratihara line of its kings for a time continued to rule, as stated elsewhere, till it was supplanted by the Gahadavalas under Chandra. Other historians bring in here *Puru jaipal*. Nizamuddin mentions him and states that he opposed that crossing of the Jumna by Mahmud. Firishta mentions him as the grandson of Jaipal, Raja of the Punjab, Jumna is of course wrongly substituted for the Rahib which may have been the Ghaggar or some other river in Oudh in which province *bari* is placed by Al-Beruni. We know that Oudh was directly under Kanauj and it may be possible, as Elliot has surmised, that Trilochanapala after his defeat on the confines of Kashmir at the battle of the Tausi may have taken refuge with Rajyapala king of Kanauj.

Al-Beruni states that Trilochanapala died in 1021 A.D. (412 H.) and this battle on the Rahib may have been fought in that year and Trilochanapala must have fought bravely in this battle and ended his life on the battle-field on the east bank of the Rahib.

From here onwards we lose the guidance of the account written by Utbi, a contemporary and secretary of Mahmud and have to rely on later historians or Baharkars who wrote two or three hundred years later. Why Utbi finishes his account here is inexplicable. There is not the smallest doubt that he lived upto the year 420 H. and later for he mentions that in that year Kadhi Abdulla Said went on pilgrimage to Mecca and he also relates the controversies which raged between him and Abu Baker on his return. The translator of Utbi remarks in a footnote here that if this year be correct Utbi must be taken to have lived longer than he is supposed to do (p. 474). Again Utbi states that Mahmud passed a 'long life and the translator again remarks in a footnote that this expression would imply that Utbi lived during a greater part of Mahmud's life than is usually supposed (p. 483) it is, therefore, a puzzle why Utbi does not carry on his narrative down to the year 420 H. or 1019 A.D. Probably he finishes his account with the climax attained at this time (1020 A.D.) by Mahmud's good fortune. His empire at this moment was so extensive that it reached on the north-west to the Caspian sea, including as it did Khwarism and even Georgia, while on the south-east, it touched the Sarsuti including the Punjab and Thanesar. He had further humbled and subjected to a yearly tribute the emperor of Northern India, at the battle on the Rahib and perhaps he had defeated and entered into friendly relations with the king of the Turks beyond the Oxus. He had finally obtained incalculable wealth from the raid on Mathura and Kanaul and human nature impelled him to expend it on a magnificent mosque at Ghazni, being incited thereto, perhaps, by the sight of the magnificent temple at Mathura "which the best architects" he said "could not have built in two hundred years." He, therefore, at this time designed and reared a splendid mosque at Ghazni, the old mosque there begun built for a smaller number of people and at a time when Ghazni had but a small territory. Utbi describes the building of the grand Juma Masjid of Ghazni on which "slaves from Hind and Khorasan worked day and night and superintendents richly paid supervised from morning of evening. Trees were brought from Hind and Sind and used on the said works; mighty stones of marble, square and hexagonal, were brought from distant places. And they drew out the domed porticoes so perfectly

spherical that the arch of the sky was but a myth in comparison." They spared not the purest gold in their paintings and gilding, and crushed the body like idols and fastened them in the doors and walls. The Sultan commanded a closet to be constructed for his own use. "He commanded the fabric to be square with expanding porches and interlacing curvatures." The pavement was made of white marble and on the sides of every court they delineated golden paintings shaded with lapis-lazuli. "Everyone who saw this fabric took the finger of wonder into his mouth and said 'Oh thou who hast beheld the mosque of Damascus and are maddened thereby and profess that no building like that is possible' come and see the mosque of Ghazni." "In front there was an immense nave for great festivals and congregations in which six thousand servants might fulfil their duties." "And he built near the precincts a college and supplied it with valuable books and rare volumes of theology and to these pure walls of instruction professors and Imams and students directed their course; and from the endowments of the college they received daily maintenance and necessities and a salary monthly or yearly was paid to them. And during the reign of the Sultan the extent of Ghazni exceeded all cities in spacious buildings and solid edifices. And amongst other fabrics there were a thousand walled enclosures for elephants with their grooms the suppliers of food etc. It was God who was the promoter of all this prosperity of the land." (pp. 468-469). Utbi probably finishes his narrative with a further description of the Sultan's just rule and the rule of his younger brother in Khorasan where he was appointed by Mahmud but unfortunately, where he died young. It is probably at this climax that Utbi ends his account which does not seem to have an abrupt end. But we at this time are unfortunately deprived of a reliable account of the subsequent doings of this great sovereign. Elliot mentions the battle of the Rahib as the thirteenth expedition and enumerates four more expeditions thereafter on the authority of Nizamuddin and Firishta. These do not mention their own authorities, yet it is probable that they had some reliable sources of information for their narrative, though we find that owing to distance of time and ignorance of localities they make many wrong statements. Utbi mentions state documents such as a register of expeditions and even memoirs written by Mahmud himself and it is probable that other contemporary writers such as Baihaki whose works are not available to us, supplied them with information. It is not, therefore, possible that these later writers give us imaginary stories though we must accept their accounts with caution and try to tally them

with information available from Indian epigraphic evidence. Thus, the statement of Nizamuddin that the Raja of Kanauj was killed by a Raja named Nanda for having submitted to the Sultan (Elliot II, p. 63), a statement made by him from some contemporary Mohammedan writer, is borne out and supported by Chandella and Kachhapaghata inscriptions.

As will be related in Chandella history later on, a Chandella inscription states that Vidyadhara son of Ganda destroyed the king of Kanyakubja (E. II. p. 222), and that in this he was assisted by Bhoja and the Kalachuri king. This combined force was led by a Kachhapaghata king of Gwalior who was a feudatory of the Chandella king and another Kachhapaghata chieftain of Dubhkund (in Gwalior territory) by name Arjuna is said in an inscription to have actually, when engaged in the service of king Vidyadhara, by his arrows in a great battle cut through the neck of Rajyapala. This speaks volumes of the spirit of the Rajput kings of this time who did not like the action of Rajyapala in submitting to a foreign king the breaker of the idols of Mathura, and a combined army of Chandella, Paramara Kalachuri and Kachhapaghata kings attacked Rajyapala in Kanauj and killed him. Probably they returned without doing more and Trilochanapala son of Rajyapala succeeded him in due course at Kanauj.

Though thus the account of Rajyapala being killed is true, it seems to us that Nizamuddin is wrong in placing this event before the expedition of Mahmud against Rai Jaipal (Rajyapala) and the battle of the Rahib described above and in misstating that the eight men who crossed the deep stream of the Rahib crossed the Jumna where further Puru Jaipal opposed Mahmud. Again, Nizamuddin states that the eight men advanced on Bari which is mentioned by no other writer (Elliot II, p. 464). The advance and capture of Bari must be correct as we know from Al-Beruni that Rajyapala had made it his residence. It must have been after the battle on the Rahib that Rajyapala must have submitted and consented to the payment of a tribute. It was after this that Rajyapala must have been attacked by the Hindu confederacy led by the Chandella king and Mahmud on hearing of this must have thought it necessary to chastise both the Chandella and the Gwalior kings. Lastly, Nizamuddin twice leads Mahmud against the Chandella king once after the capture of Bari and again in what Elliot calls the fifteenth expedition viz. that against Gwalior and Kalanjar on the authority of the same author. Utbi does not mention that Mahmud went

against Chandrarai after the battle of the Rahib, for at that time Rajyapala had not yet been killed. It seems probable that Chandrarai was only once attacked and not twice.

Mahmud led in 1022 an expedition against Kirat, Nur, Lohkot and Lahore (reckoned as fourteenth by Elliot); the first two are identified with Swat and Bajaur where Hinduism still lingered and the people were worshippers of the lion which Elliot thinks means Sakya Sinha or Buddha. But though, this district was a staunch Buddhist district in the days of Hiuen Tsang yet, we think, Buddhism was dead in the tenth and eleventh centuries throughout these territories. The lion refers to the man-lion Avatara of Vishnu and that the worship of Narasinha was prevalent in the Punjab, Multan, being known as Prahladapura or the city of Prahlada, a devotee of Narasinha, Mahmud conquered this territory and converted the people the Mohammedanism. He then went to Lohkot the impregnable fortress of Kashmir and returned without effecting an entrance into that inaccessible country, after paying a visit to Lahore* which was now the capital of one of his Indian provinces. He must have learnt here of the events at Kanauj and determined to lead an expedition against Gwalior and Kalanjar next autumn.

In 404 H. (1023 A.D.) he led this expedition and he must not have crossed the Jumna at all as he had first to chastise the king of Gwalior. This king submitted without fighting and as he was merely a feudatory of Kalanjar. Mahmud did not wait here long but proceeded against Ganda, called Nanda wrongly by Mohammedan writers. Some European writers doubt the truth of the expedition and Elliot could not explain the inclusion of Gwalior in it (Elliot II, p. 467); but when we know from inscriptions that both Gwalior and Kalanjar had together attacked Rajyapala, we may not only grant the necessity and truth of this expedition but see why Gwalior was first attacked and humbled. Nizamuddin detaining this expedition says that Mahmud again attacked Kalanjar which as we have seen is a repetition. In reality, this was the first expedition against Chandrarai of Kalanjar (perhaps the second if we take into account the first invasions of Kalpi after Kanauj and Mathura were taken in 1018 A.D.). Ganda at this time retired to Kalanjar which Mahmud invested. Nizamuddin writes that "this fort

* Elliot II p. 466; this contradicts the statement in the Lahore Gazetteer that Mahmud did not visit Lahore at all which seems incredible.

was unparalleled in the whole of Hindustan for strength. Nanda presented three hundred elephants and sued for peace." He also sent a few Hindi verses in praise of the Sultan which were shown to learned men of the country and court-poets who bestowed high praise upon them; the Sultan was pleased and sending some presents bestowed upon Nanda fifteen fortresses." It seems that Mahmud was prudent enough not to waste his power upon the reduction of such fortresses as Kalanjar and Gwalior, and contented himself with accepting their submission, and their non-interference with the king of Kanauj paying him a tribute. It is natural that Trilochanapala who had succeeded Rajyapala must have consented to pay a yearly tribute as covenanted by his father.

Note: It seems to us that Sir Vincent Smith implicitly following Nizamuddin has given a different and probably mistaken account of these events in his article on the Chandelas in *Indian Antiquary* XXXVII (p. 142). He observes "in the course of the 12th expedition in January 1019 Rajyapala submitted and promised an indemnity of one million dirhams and thirty elephants. For this submission Rajyapala was killed by Ganda's son in May 1019. Mahmud invaded again and an ally of Ganda whose identity is obscured by the imperfection of the Persian alphabet but who was almost certainly Trilochanapala, son of Rajyapala, opposed Mahmud's passage of the Jumna but failed. Mahmud crossed the river and captured and sacked the town of Bari and then marched southwards to chastise Ganda in his own territory. He collected a force in accordance with the usual Hindu custom comprising 36,000 horse, 115000 foot and 640 elephants. The Sultan felt uneasy and reconnoitred the army from an eminence. In the night Ganda fled. The Sultan carefully attacked the deserted camp lest there might be a ruse and got immense booty. The cowardice and the immense plunder again induced the Sultan to invade his territory via Gawalior in 1023 A.D. Mahmud invested Kalanjar. Ganda gave him 300 elephants and immense presents and accepted back Kalanjar and 15 forts from Mahmud. Notwithstanding the success gained so easily by Mahmud, the Chandel kingdom was not again attacked by Mohammedans until 180 years had elapsed and Ganda's successors were left free to manage their own affairs." This account is full of apparent incongruities owing to Smith's following Nizamuddin implicitly as stated above. Nizamuddin gives two expeditions against Kalanjar instead of one and places both after the defeat and death of Rajyapala at the hands of the Chandellas. In this case the second

expedition becomes an unnecessary expedition as undertaken merely for plunder and via Gwalior for no reason. Secondly, Ganda's running away at night when he had such an overwhelming force is one the face of it unbelievable. Utbi never describes such scenes; but later Mohammedan writers are tempted to imagine such encounters wherein overwhelming forces are assigned to the Hindu king and he is shown to have run away without fighting. Even Utbi has described Ganda as an independent king full of pride and courage. This is a plainly imaginary scene invented by Nizamuddin. For even on his own showing, if this expedition had been undertaken by Mahmud to punish Kalanjar for killing Rajyapala, there was no necessity to cross the Jumna and go against Kanauj. It does not seem likely that Trilochanapala would oppose Mahmud to whom his father had submitted. Lastly, Utbi does not relate that Mahmud went against Nanda after the battle of the Rahib where the eight men crossed the turbulent river in face of opposition as stated by Nizamuddin himself. The proper explanation is that Nizamuddin is wrong in describing the march against Nanda at this time and also placing the event of the Raja of Kanauj being attacked and killed by Nanda before the battle of the Rahib. The course of events according to our view was this. In the 12th expedition against Kanauj (1019) Rajyapala did not submit but fled to Bari. In the 13th expedition Mahmud led an army against Rajyapala and Bari and conquering him in the battle of the Rahib accepted his submission on condition of payment of tribute (1021 March). In May, Rajyapala was attacked and killed by Nanda assisted by Gwalior which Mahmud learnt at Lahore in 1022 March and he led an expedition in 1022 December against Gwalior and Kalanjar and exacted submission from both in January 1023. In this view Ganda does not appear to be craven-hearted as he is made to appear.

3

Punjab and Kabul

I

Sind fell before the Arabs under Muhammad Kasim in 712; the Punjab fell before the Turks under Mahmud in 1009, and Northern India fell before the Afghans under Ghoris from 1193 to 1200 A.D. The causes of the downfall in each of these three cases were not the same; were in fact extremely different. We have discussed the causes of the downfall of Sind and shown that Sind fell chiefly owing to the treachery of some feudatories of Chach and the pusillanimity of the Buddhists. Sind was then ruled by a Brahmin and Punjab also was ruled by a Brahmin king; but both Dahar and Anandapala fought with the bravery of Rajputs. These ruling Brahmin dynasties were practically Kshatriyas. And from the most ancient times when Drona fought in the Mahabharata war down to the time of the Peshwas, Brahmin kings and chiefs fought as bravely as the Kshatriyas. Indeed, Brahmin soldiers also such as the Pandes of Northern India in the days of the mutiny fought as valiantly as other soldiers in the British army. Curiously enough the same accident befell Dahar as befell Anandapala in their final hard contested battles and the elephant of Dahar left the battle-field as that of the latter did and would not stop until it had thrown itself into a lake and allayed its fever. But accidents befall everyman in his life and are not the real causes of downfalls; as stated before fate is an over-riding and common factor in all the concerns of this world and in a historical survey of causes it may be excluded from consideration. Though these two facts in the case of Sind and the Punjab are almost identical yet the real causes of the fall of the Punjab are different from the causes of the fall of Sind. In the case of the former we read of treachery or defection of no Indian king or feudatory. Perhaps the Mohammedan historian Utbi,

the Secretary of Mahmud, who must have known all secrets omitted purposely the mention of such cases. But as in even Mohammedan histories of Sind we have such a mention, we may safely say that in the case of the Punjab treachery was not one of the causes of its downfall. Nor was there any great difference of religion in the Punjab causing pusillanimity of the people. India at this time was under one and the same religion *viz.* Hinduism, without the feuds between 'Vaishnavism' and 'Saivism' which later distracted that religion. As stated therein, India at this time was in the happiest condition of having one religion, Buddhism being dead and Mohammedanism being yet far off. India was also blessed in other respects in the tenth century A.D. and was at the height of its strength and prosperity from which as from a summit there was found to be a descent by the laws of nature. The historian has to find how this descent came on.

Various causes are assigned by historians or are usually imagined by people in this connection; but most of these in our view were non-existent or are not the real causes. Thus, Lane Poole remarks "To the contrast of union and disunion, north and south, race and climate was added the zeal of the Moslem and the greed of the robber." Sachau thinks that the princes of Northern India were too narrow-minded to see the danger and to unite (preface of Al-Beruni). Sardesai states that Mahmud knew that there were small kingdoms in India which were constantly fighting with one another and that he had a larger army which he had to feed and employ somehow. How these various views are, in our opinion, not well-founded, we proceed to discuss at length.

That the Hindu kingdoms in India were not alive to the danger and did not unite is not a fact, as we actually see in the history recorded by Mohammedans themselves. A new and dangerous religion had come to the frontiers of India long ago *viz.* in Sind in 712 and the Hindus then, under the first Rajput warriors of Mewad and Sambhar, offered a most stubborn resistance to the Arabs and stayed their onward march forever. Three hundred years later came the Turks fired with the fanaticism of new proselytes and establishing themselves at Ghazni began to harass the Hindus and destroy their temples. Nay the Hindus had an experience of what was coming on, 60 years before, when Zabulistan was first taken by Yakub-i-Lais and his governor destroyed a famous Hindu temple at Sakhawand and Rai Kamlu of Kabul was staggered at the sacrilege (E. II, p. 172). The Hindu kings were, therefore, alive to the danger from long experience and did thrice

combine, brought large armies larger than those which Mahmud could oppose to them, yet failed. The idea, therefore, that the Hindu kings were oblivious of the peril and did not unite is entirely against the facts.

Nor was there any real need for this union. The idea that Hindu kingdoms of this time were small is not correct. The Shahi kingdom of Kabul and the Punjab was far more extensive than the small kingdom of Ghazni which was ruled by Sabuktigin or in his early days by Mahmud himself. That kingdom should alone have been able to destroy Ghazni if it had been well prepared. The kingdom of Kanauj was more extensive and more powerful still. Indeed, that kingdom, as Arab travellers relate, kept four armies constantly in the field which were so powerful that they could have taken even Multan and driven the Arabs out of Sind. The kingdom of the Chandel king Dhanga was not insignificant and though Rajyapala of Kanauj had fallen from the example of his great ancestor Bhoja, Dhanga the king of Kalanjār and Gwalior was powerful enough to be able himself alone to destroy Mahmud. It is generally not known that Mahmud's kingdom at this time was small and his army also was comparatively inconsiderable. It was also not drawn from one nation, the soldiers being Turks, Afghans, Kurds and Persians who were often at war with one another. Mahmud indeed did not come with an overpowering force of barbarians like Zangis or Timur who with Mogul horsemen of one race numbering seven or four lakhs swept like tornadoes over Asia from the Caspian to the Indus and wrought destruction in five years which five hundred years were unable to repair (Gibbon). Mahmud's army was undoubtedly small compared with the army of Jaipal, as even Mohammedan historians relate, in the first great battle and even in the second with Anāndapala. Nor was it more united than the Hindu army so as to oppose union to disunion. The contrast of north and south also did not exist for Ghazni was opposed to Kabul; and the soldiers of Jaipal of Kabul were unquestionably Afghans yet unconverted and unconverted Afghans could not have been less valiant than Moslem Afghans. Even a difference of race between Turk and Aryan did not, in our view, make any difference in the fighting qualities of the two armies. It is indeed a common fallacy by which barbarians from the north, Turks and Afghans, are believed to be more hardy and valiant than the Aryans of the Punjab and Rajputana. This difference of race may have been one of the causes of the defeat of the Marathas at the battle of Panipat at the hands of the Afghans of Abdali, for as a matter of fact the

inferiority of the Maratha compared with the Afghan in physique, ferocity and valour may be admitted. But no such difference existed or exists between the Turks and Afghans beyond the Indus and the Aryans of the Punjab and Rajputana so far as history or even present facts tell us. The Jats and Rajputs of the Punjab, whether Sikh, Mohammedan or Hindu are even now among the finest soldiers not only in India but in the whole world; and they were all Hindus in the days of Mahmud. Even now the Punjab is the chief recruiting ground for British Indian Army. The Amritsar Gazetteer states (p. 33) that the Sikh Jats of the Manjha territory can show men who in any country in the world could be deemed fine specimens of the human race. And as for the Rajputs of Rajputana, they have signalised themselves against Turks and Afghans and Moguls and Persians in many battles. The Rathods of Jaswantsing had even held Afghanistan under their sway for several years in the days of Aurangjeb. We may believe, therefore, that so far as physical strength and valour were concerned the soldiers of Jaipal or Anandapala were not at all inferior to the Turks and Afghans of Mahmud.

Sir Vincent Smith, without actually discussing the causes of the fall of the Punjab, suggests them in the remark 'a new power, novel in religion, in the social customs, ideas and methods of warfare appeared on the scene.' Superiority of arms and of discipline is one of the most potent causes of the prevalence of one nation over another, and it may be mentioned here that India was bound to be conquered by the British owing to their superiority in arms and discipline, their artillery and their battalions. But this factor did not exist in favour of the Mohammedans at this time. Firishta is guilty of anachronism when he mentions 'tops' (cannon) as being used by Mahmud, in the same way as he mentions Delhi and Ajmer as opposing Mahmud, since cannon had no existence in the days of Mahmud as much as Delhi or Ajmer. From the article 'Gunpowder' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the following facts appear: 1. Gunpowder is believed to have been invented either by a German about 1345 or by Roger Bacon about 1225 A.D. 2. Gunpowder was not known to the ancient Greeks, Hindus or Arabs. They no doubt knew some incendiary process which they used in war but they did not know explosives and had neither guns nor cannon. 3. History does not record the use of firearms in India except at the battle of Panipat by Babar. We are thus assured that Mahmud had no firearms and relied on the same weapons of war, swords,

scimitars and lances, as the Hindu; and Mohammedan poet historians expatiate on the merits of these only (Elliot, Vol. II) as may be seen in Utbi or Baihaki. Indeed, if there was superiority in weapons it was on the side of the Hindus. They knew, it is clear, how to make good steel. The iron pillar at Delhi is a wonder even to the moderns (who are surprised at its manufacture in a way that it does not rust); and Indian swords were prized by the soldiers of Mahmud. Utbi poetically makes the sword of a Turkish soldier exclaim "I am a Hindu of a good family" (p. 216) thereby referring to the better steel of that weapon made in India, and we find that in the plunder of battle-fields swords and arms of the slain Hindu soldiers were objects of special attention.* We do not think there was any superiority of discipline on the side of the Mohammedans or that the Mohammedan army had been disciplined in the modern sense. Their horses might have been better as Afghanistan and Persia produce better horses as even Rajasekhara notes. But Rajputana horses were not bad and imported Arabian and Perian horses could be had in plenty. In fact, the Pratihara emperors of Kanauj, coming from Rajputana as they did, were well-known for their cavalry and they were for that reason called Hayapatis. And the Hindus had one powerful arm in addition viz. the elephant which the Mohammedans did not possess. Even the Turks subsequently coveted this arm and developed it; for we see Sabuktagin and Mahmud using elephants against the Turks of Kashgar and using them with effect (Utbi). It is curious to note that while the Hindus could not use the elephants against the Turks of Mahmud, Mahmud could use the same elephants against the Turks of Ilkhan with great effect. This is sufficient to prove the great generalship of Mahmud and the incompetence of India's commanders. How Mahmud made the Hindu elephant arm ineffectual we are not told by Mohammedan writers though we are told by Greek historians how Alexander discomfited the same arm of Porus. It may be noted that even after Sabuktagin and Mahmud had begun to use elephants in their armies their drivers remained Hindus. In fact during a succeeding reign at Ghazni the Hindus drivers of elephants were remiss in their duty and were severely punished (Balhaki). Strangely enough at the present day this art is

* Punjab produces iron at Kalabagh and Bhera and Nizamabad are well-known for the excellent swords which are manufactured there even now as may be known from specimens placed in the Lahore museum.

wholly lost by the Hindus and elephant-drivers are all Mohammedans now (E. II, 143).

It is, therefore, difficult to conceive how the method of warfare of the Turks was different from that of the Hindus unless we take into account the extreme cruelty with which the Turks treated the vanquished. It is undeniable that of all nations the Hindus in their history behaved with the greatest humanity towards their conquered foes. They never massacred even the fighting population as the Turks under Mahmud did. When we say that Mahmud was not cruel, we compare him with other Mohammedans conquerors, especially the Mogul Zangis or Timur. Compared with the conduct of Hindus when conquering, his method must indeed have struck terror into the hearts of the less cruel people of India. Fighting men were usually massacred and innocent people were enslaved and carried into captivity and towns and villages were often destroyed. Even in European history we find war conducted with far more cruelty both in ancient and modern times. Even the Greeks and the Romans were very cruel in the treatment of conquered foes and massacre and enslavement were the constant concomitants of conquest in war. In this sense Mahmud's method of warfare was novel; but this cannot be treated as one of the causes of the downfall of the Punjab. We are trying to find out why the Hindu armies were defeated; though no doubt the terrible consequences of one defeat might impair the morale of Hindu soldiers in subsequent encounters.

The political ideas of the Turks and the Hindus were almost exactly the same. Both had no idea of representative government, though the Hindus may have had them in pre-Gupta days of rights of people or of responsibilities of kings. They knew only one form of government *viz.* the despotic and had no idea of a nation in the modern sense. There was no feeling of nationality or of patriotism. The kings became kings by heirship or by the favour of God manifested by giving success in battle. Neither the Turks of Mahmud nor the Hindus of Jaipal fought as the Germans and the French fought in the last European War under the high impulse of nationality and patriotism. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that a feeling of strong nationality which always prompts stubborn fighting gave the Turks the success which they invariably achieved; for such feeling never existed among the Turks who only fought for Mahmud. They were fighting not for a nation but for a king. No doubt the zeal of Mohammedanism supplied

the place of patriotism and the religious fervour of the newly converted Turks and Afghans was a great factor in the success of Mahmud. But this does not constitute a novelty of ideas nor would it have been a cause of the downfall of the Punjab had it been opposed by an equally strong religious zeal of the Hindus. Lastly, we do not see any novelty in the social manners of the Turks that contributed to the downfall of the Hindus. Even in manners as in ideas the Turks were practically like the Hindus who opposed them. The Hindus of the Punjab and Kabul then were flesh-eaters and not vegetarians and even at this day Punjab is less vegetarian than the other provinces of India. The Hindus were not beef-eaters no doubt, but that cannot, in our view, have contributed to any extent to the fall of Kabul and the Punjab.

II

The causes of the downfall of nations, peoples, or kingdoms, have always been a subject of deep interest to historians both in ancient and modern times; and historians have formulated different theories in different cases which cannot have universal application. The fall of Greece before Rome, of Rome before the Goths and of Constantinople before the Turks present different aspects and must necessarily be assigned to different causes. Even in India, as said before, the causes of the fall of Sind in 712, of the Punjab in 1009, of Northern India in about 1200, and of Southern India about 1300 A.D., are different and Indian historians have the difficult task of explaining in each case the probable causes of the downfall of each. Yet the general observations of the great historian of the downfall of the Roman Empire have a perennial interest and supply maxims which are of universal application. Although the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire in the West are actually different from the causes which can properly be assigned for the fall of the Punjab, the observations of Gibbon well help us in our present inquiry to a great extent.

The natural impulse to "assign fortune of Rome as the cause of the misfortune of Greece" had to be first overcome in the manner in which Polybius a great historian of the Greeks did it by showing the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome. "The unique constitution of Rome which united freedom of popular assemblies with the wisdom of a senate and the executive powers of a regal magistrate, the oath of military service of ten years imposed on every citizen in the cause of the country which continually poured into the field young freemen and

soldiers, the military system of Rome with its remarkable legion superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx, these institutions of peace and war explain according to Polybius the success of a people incapable of fear and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquering the world was attempted and achieved and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage." But even great would empire declined and fell. "It was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay.

4

The Slave Dynasty

The real founder of Muslim Power in India was Muhammad Ghuri (1175-1206 A.D.). The Arabs and the Turks had acted as pioneers and path-finders. They had cut the first stones for the edifice in conquering Sind, Multan and the Punjab. The foundations of lasting dominion for the Crescent had not been laid. That work was not even attempted by either Imad-ud-din or Mahmud Ghazni. Such authority as had been created by Mahmud and his successors in the Punjab, as we shall presently see, only served as a stepping-stone at the threshold for the Ghurids to enter India. Once that was done the breakers of Ghazni became the makers of Muslim India.

Kutb-ud-din Aibak was not the first slave to sit on a throne. Mahmud Ghazni's father Sabuktigin, among several others, had done it before him. But certainly Kutb-ud-din, the slave of Muhammad Ghuri, was the first to enjoy that privilege in India. As we shall witness in the following pages, he did more than fill the throne; for he created the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi which in the fulness of time was to bear the amplest fruit. He was followed by two other great slaves. Iltutmish and Balban, who not merely lent an inglorious name to the first Muslim dynasty ruling from Delhi, but proved for all time that

Rank's but the guinea stamp,
Man's the gold for that

The so-called Slave Kings held sovereign power in Hindustan during eighty years, from the death of Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri (1206 A.D.) to the accession of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji (1290 A.D.). This was the seed-time of Muslim empire in India. In the course of the next hundred years, under the successor of the Slaves—Khaljis

(1290-1320 A.D.) and Tughlaks (1321-88 A.D.)—the flag of the Crescent waved over the greater part of India.

The Punjab had been regularly incorporated within his dominions by Mahmud Ghazni. But Ariyaruk, the viceroy he had appointed at Lahore, having proved refractory, Masud replaced him, with another. Ahmad Niyaltagin nick-named Mahmud's 'sneeze' (after ego), on account of the great trust the late Sultan had placed in him, was the man chosen. As a measure of precaution Ahmad was put only in military charge of the Indian province, the civil administration being continued in the charge of Kazi Shiraz. There was also an intelligence department established with a head 'to whom all orders from the Sultan and ministers were sent and who reported everything that occurred to his master.' To make assurance doubly sure, the new viceroy's son was detained at Ghazni a hostage and the following strange message was sent to Niyaltagin by Khwaja Maimandi, the vezir:

'You two must not give trouble to the Court. What you have to write to me must be stated in detail in order to receive a distinct reply. His Majesty thinks it advisable to send with you some of the Dailanu chiefs, to remove them to a distance from the Court, since they are foreigners; and also some suspected persons and refractory slaves. Whenever you go on a campaign you must take them with you, but be careful that they do not mingle with the Army of Lahore, and let them not drink wine or play polo. Keep spies and informers to watch them, and never neglect this duty. These be the King's secret orders, not to be divulged.'

Odd as these arrangements might appear to us, the conduct of Niyaltagin fully justified them. Reports soon reached Ghazni of his ambitious designs. Anxious to emulate the exploits of Mahmud, he led his army to Benares and plundered that holy city of the Hindus and returned to Lahore with enormous loot. This adventure in itself should not have been unwelcome to the authorities at home but for other indications of Niyaltagin's contumacious intentions. While he dispatched glowing reports of his success to Masud no share of the spoils was sent to Ghazni. At the same time information was received of his recruitment in large numbers of the ruffians of Lahore with these appropriations and of his falsely declaring himself to be a son of Mahmud. Before he could repudiate his allegiance to Masud, therefore, it was necessary to take action. The task was entrusted to a Hindu general named Tilak.

The breaker of Hindu idols had entertained no prejudice against the recruitment of Hindu soldiers in his army. At times under the Ghaznavids we come across references to Hindus freely participating in the wars of their conquerors. Only in a few cases mentioned before were they converted to Islam. According to Firishta ever unconverted chieftains like Siwand Rai, at the head of a considerable body of Hindu cavalry, were employed by Mahmud. Low caste Hindus, especially, who could not find preferment in their own caste-ridden society, found under their Mlechcha masters endless avenues of advancement. Tilk was one such, for he was the son of a barber. Nevertheless, he had a handsome presence and a ready tongue; besides he could write a beautiful hand, both in Hindi and Persian. In the alchemy of his amorous adventures he appears to have been an Alcibiades. In the bon viveur Masud he found an appreciative master who made him his private secretary and employed him as official interpreter in his dealings with the Hindus. 'As a mark of royal favour, he was granted a gold-embroidered robe, a jewelled necklace of gold, a canopy and an umbrella, and kettledrums were beaten, and ensigns with gilded tops were unfurled at his residence in accordance with Hindu fashion to proclaim his elevation to high official dignity.'

Though expediency and the personal levity of Masud rather than calculated and enlightened policy, were responsible for Tilak's exaltation. It is to be noted that it was the first instance of an unconverted infidel in India being so treated by the very son of that Ghazi Mahmud who had vowed jihad on the idolatrous Hindus. He was now being used to wage war on a 'friend of God' who had proved refractory.

In the middle of 1033 A.D. a year marked by a devastating famine and plague which according to Firishta, spread from Mesopotamia to India and depopulated whole districts, Tilak marched into Hindustan where fighting had already commenced between the Partisans of the two Ghazni officers, Kazi Shiraz and Ahmad Niyaltagin. The Hindu general defeated the latter in the very first engagement when the rebellious governor effected his escape from the field of battle. Tilak put a price of 500,000 dirhams on his head which was not long after brought in by the Jats. Encouraged by this success, Masud himself led an expedition to Hansi (11 miles east of Hisar) in person (1037 A.D.) to fulfil a vow he seemed to have taken long before. In the course of this exploit he was taken ill and repenting of his incontinent living,

like Babar on a more famous occasion five centuries later, publicly renounced wine and caused all the goblets to be flung into the Jhelum enjoining upon all his officers to take likewise a vow of abstention. The fortress, heroically defended and believed by the Hindus to have been impregnable, was nevertheless taken, followed by the usual slaughter, enslavement and plunder. The spoils were distributed among the troops. But with all this and the orgy of wine drinking in which Masud indulged at times, agreeing with the sentiments of one of his own court-poets who wrote:

‘I do repent of wine and talk of wine,
Of idols fair and chins like silver fine,
A lip-repentance and a lustful heart,
O God, forgive this penitence of mine’—

the campaign itself proved disastrous by what it occasioned. The Seljuks, taking advantage of his absence, invaded Ghazni territory and Masud fled before them in 1040 A.D. towards Hindustan. He own men mutinied en route, took him captive and finally put him to death (1041 A.D.).

The unedifying history of Masud's successors has been in part already told. Here we shall record only a few incidents relating to India. After Tilak defeated Niyaltagin, Masud's second son Maidud had been placed in charge of the Punjab (1036 A.D.). He was superseded by his cousin Nami, when Masud himself was overthrown by his own brother Muhammad in whose favour the mutiny that ended Masud's life had taken place (1041 A.D.). However, when Masud's eldest son Maudud was engaged in a deadly combat with his uncle Muhammad, Majdud the younger brother of Maudud was still active in the Punjab (1042 A.D.). He had captured the important town of Thanesar and was about to attack Delhi. In the meanwhile, the struggle for the throne in Ghazni having ended in favour of Maudud the latter turned his attention to the Punjab. Not content with getting rid of his defeated uncle's son Nami, he also felt suspicious of his own more energetic brother. But Majdud died all of a sudden and left the Punjab in the undisputed possession of Maudud though he could command little authority there.

Two years later, Mahipala, the Raja of Delhi, recaptured without difficulty Hansi, Thanesar and Kangra and threatened Lahore itself (1043-4 A.D.) which was saved by the alacrity of its defenders. This

resulted in Maudud placing the Punjab under the dual charge of this two sons, Mahmud and Mansur, besides dispatching against the Hindus the energetic Kotwal Ghazni of his task, was recalled and put to death on account of some court intrigue. Then followed the death of Maudud himself in 1049 A.D. This set in motion a series of succession disputes which distracted attention from India for ten years until the accession of Ibrahim in 1059 A.D. The only incident worth recording during this interval is the appointment of the able officer Mushtigin to the government of the Punjab (1049 A.D.). He recaptured the fortress of Kangra and was about to restore order in his province when he was called home on account of the usurpation of Tughri (1052 A.D.).

Ibrahim's reign was the longest in the dynasty (1059-99 A.D.). The comparative security of his kingdom during this period enabled him to turn his attention to India. In 1079 A.D. he crossed the southern border of the Punjab and took the towns of Ajudhan (Pak Patan) and Rupal. A reference to Ibrahim having come upon a Parsi settlement on the western coast (Navsari?) during this campaign makes it the more memorable. Ibrahim was succeeded by his 23rd son, Masud III who ruled for seventeen years (1099-1155 A.D.). During this reign Tughatigin of Lahore is said to have led an expedition beyond the Ganges, though no details are recorded. Then followed another spate of family disputes, during which Arsalan Shah, one of the occupants of the throne, sought refuge in India for a while: then returning home was shortly after put to death. He was followed by Bahram Shah in whose reign the destruction of Ghazni, already described, took place (1155 A.D.). But in our present context what is of greater interest is the rebellion of Bahlim in the Punjab. This officer had been appointed governor of the province by Arsalan and refused to acknowledge Bahram. Though defeated in 1119 A.D., he was reinstated and served to subdue many a turbulent Hindu chieftain on the borders of the Punjab. Bahlim established himself at Nagaur and once again turned contumacious. This time, being overthrown by Bahram, while attempting to escape, he was swallowed up in a quicksand, together with two of his sons, near Multan. "He deserves to be remembered," writes Sir Wolseley Haig, "because he established Mohammedan rule over provinces which had never acknowledged the authority of the greatest of the Ghaznavids. Nagaur is situated more than 300 miles to the south of Lahore, and it is said that Bahim was accompanied, on his march against Bahram, by ten sons each of whom ruled a province of district."

Bahram, after the destruction of Ghazni by Ala-ud-din Ghuri, returned to his capital only once before his death as a fugitive on the borders of India in (1152 A.D.). He was followed by his son Khusru Shah who, being expelled from Ghazni by the Turkmans of Khurasan, fled to Lahore where he died in 1160 A.D. Khusru Malik, the last descendant of the great Idol-breaker, ascended the throne at Lahore, the capital of his ancestors being permanently lost to the family. "He was a mild and voluptuous prince to whom authority was irksome. The governors of the districts of his small kingdom behaved as independent rulers, but he recked nothing so long as the means of indulgence was at hand." The districts fell off one after another from his allegiance until, in 1186 A.D., Muhammad Ghuri captured Lahore and sent Khusru Malik and his son Bahram to Firuz-Koh (Ghur) where they were both put to death, after having been in prison for five years. Thus passed away the last of the line of Sabuktigin and Mahmud after two centuries of rule (977-1186 A.D.). They were masters of the Punjab from 1101-1186 A.D.

Third Muslim Invader

Muhammad Ghuri was the third Muslim invader of India. He came to conquer and annex where his two predecessors. Imam-ud-din and Mahmud, had come primarily to punish and plunder. He was the nephew of the Ghurid destroyer of Ghazni. Ala-ud-din. He and his brother Ghiyas-ud-din ruled respectively at Ghazni (since 1173-4 A.D.) and Ghor or Firuz-Koh (from 1163 A.D.). Unlike the late dynasty of Ghazni, that of Ghor appears to have been Afghan, though some believe they might have been Turki or Persian as well. While the elder brother, Ghiyas-ud-din, was content with the western dominions of his ancestors, the younger, Muiz-ud-din (also called Sahihabud-din) Muhammad, with Ghazni as his base, turned his ambitious eyes towards twice conquered Hindustan.

The three Muslim provinces of Sind, Multan and the Punjab were the first to be subdued. Multan was taken in 1175 A.D., Sind down to the sea in 1182 A.D., and Lahore, as we saw, fell in 1186 A.D. During the remaining twenty years of his life (1186-1206 A.D.) Muhammad carved out an Empire for himself, extending from Ghazni in the west to Ghor in the east, though he left no heirs of his body to rule it after him. That fortune descended to his slaves.

Thirty Years of War

Muhammad Ghuri did not make as promising a beginning as the Idol-Breaker nearly two hundred years earlier. His ultimate conquests in Hindustan were also due as much to the courage and enterprise of his slaves as to his own. Though he was successful in his Indian expedition, led against the heretical Muslim ruler of Multan in 1175 A.D., he had to make good his position by low stratagem rather than by open prowess in arms. At Uch, for example, he intrigued with the Bhatti Raja's wife, promising to place her at the head of his harem, and got rid of her unloved husband by murder. Finally, the unfaithful lady was left in the lurch. In 1178 A.D. Muhammad was driven back with heavy losses when he attempted to take Anhilwara, the Vaghela capital of Gujarat. Next year he wrenched Peshawar from the feeble hands of the Ghaznavid Khusru Malik's governor, and appeared before Lahore itself in 1181 A.D., which he finally took in 1186 A.D. Here too Muhammad had recourse to measures which must stand condemned for ever in the land of the noble chivalry of Rajasthan. Khusru Malik was compelled to surrender his son as a hostage. Then Muhammad proceeded to Sialkot where he built a fortress. Khusru Malik attempted to take this when this adversary turned his back. So in 1186 Muhammad once more came to Lahore. When Khusru sued for peace he pretended to release Khusru's son who had been taken as a hostage on the previous occasion. The credulous Khusru, being assured of his safety, came out to receive his son. Then treacherously Muhammad seized him and sent both him and his son to their doom in Firuz-Koh as stated before.

Lurid light is thrown on the state of affairs in the Punjab at this time by an incident which is likely to be passed over by historians. The Rajas of Jammu were in perpetual strife with the Ghaznavid rulers of Lahore. But the valiant Khokars who had once fought against Mahmud were now won over by Khusru Malik from their allegiance to Raja Chakra Deo of Jammu. The latter, like the Lodi chieftain who invited Babar in later years, called in Muhammad Ghuri who swallowed all, Hindu and Muslim alike, in once common subjection. In spite of such native assistance, however, Muhammad could progress little beyond capturing stray fortresses like Bhatinda of Sirhind which he took in the winter of 1190-11 A.D. But this brought him into opposition with his most formidable antagonist in India, Prithviraja Chauhan, ruler of Delhi and Ajmer. In an encounter which took place at Taraori

(Tarain, 14 miles from Thanesar), in 1191 A.D. Muhammad was severely wounded, and routed for a second time by an infidel prince. Rai Pithaura, as Muslim writers called him, pursued the Ghuri army for 40 miles and then turned to the fortress of Sirhind, which also capitulated after a prolonged siege of thirteen months.

Smarting under the humiliation of the first battle of Tarain Muhammad, it is related, never slumbered in case nor waked but in sorrow and anxiety. To retrieve his position he made very thorough and elaborate preparations and returned to the fray the very next year (1192 A.D.). The Hindus also anticipating this were not slow to meet the enemy. 300,000 horses and 3000 elephants besides a very large infantry gathered under 150 princes of Hindustan (excepting Jayachandra of Kanauj, Prithvi's father-in-law and deadiest foe) on the hallowed field of Tarain (wrongly called Narain in the following account of Minhaj-us-Siraj). In the words of the Muslim historian:

'Next year the Sultan assembled another army and advanced to Hindustan, to avenge his defeat. A trustworthy person named Muin-ud-din, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army, and that its force amounted to 120,000 horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultan could arrive the fort of Sirhind had capitulated, and the enemy were encamped in the vicinity of Narain (Tarain). The Sultan drew up in battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000 and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear; with their arrows. When the enemy collected his forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infields were worsted, the Almighty gave us the Victory over them, and they fled.

'Pithaura alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and galloped off; but he was captured near Sarsuti, and sent to hell. Govind Rai of Delhi was killed in the battle, and the Sultan recognised his head by the teeth which he had broken. The capital, Ajmer, and all the Siwalik hills, Hansi Sarsuti, and other districts were the results of this victory which was gained in the year 588 H.' (1192 A.D.).

As Smith points out, "the second battle of Tarain in 1192 may

be regarded as the decisive contest which ensured the ultimate success of the Mohammedan attack on Hindustan. All the numerous subsequent victories were merely consequences of the overwhelming defeat of the Hindu league on the historic plain to the north of Delhi."

Kutb-ud-din Aibak conquered Meerut and Koli, and made Delhi the seat of the government which was entrusted to him. The ruthlessness of the conqueror may be estimated from his indiscriminate slaughter of the people in the conquered cities which were also plundered and destroyed. In Ajmer, for instance, the idol temples were demolished to their very foundations, and mosques and colleges were built, where 'the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established.' After this, 'on a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he delivered over the country of Ajmer to Gola a natural son of Prithviraja.'

The fate of Prithvi soon overtook Jayachandra of Kanauj who had held aloof and chuckled over the destruction of his son-in-law for the crime of eloping with his not unwilling daughter. We pointed out the political importance of Kanauj in an earlier context. The Muslim conquerors were not blind to its significance. Mahmud Ghazni had not missed it. 'There were Muslims in that country,' writes Ibn-al-Athir, 'since the days of Mahmud Ibn Sabuktigin who continued faithful to the law of Islam and constant in prayer and good works.' The same writer speaks of Jayachandra as the King of Benares and describes him as the greatest king of India, possessing the largest territory. Such a monarch could not be suffered to remain if Hindustan was to be subdued. So Muhammad marched against him in 1194 and the Rathod fell like the Chauhan. 'When the two armies met there was great carnage; the infidels sustained by their numbers and the Muslims by courage; but in the end the infidels fled and the faithful were victorious.'

The slaughter of the Hindus was immense; none was spared, except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Jayachandra met his fate like Harold at the battle of Hastings (1066 A.D.) being struck in the eye by a fatal arrow. The same result followed: like William the conqueror in England, Muhammad became king of Hindustan. But he had his Normandy in Afghanistan which interested him more than his new conquests; wherefore he left Hindustan more and more in the hands of his barons the Turki slaves. 'After the flight of the Hindus, Shihab-ud-din entered

Benares and carried off its treasures upon 1400 camels. He then returned to Ghazni. Continuing, Ibn-al-Athir records with wonder, 'Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shihab-ud-din and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one!'

The fall of Jayachandra at Chandwar made Muhammad the master of the political as well as the religious capitals of Hindustan, Kanauj and Benares. There was little more to be done which would add to his prestige, and therefore after capturing Bayana and receiving submission from Gwalior, that 'pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind' (1196 A.D.). Muhammad turned his attention towards the north and west of his capital. During the next five years the two Ghuri brothers (Muhammad and Ghiyas-ud-din) had so much fighting to do against the Turks on their Persian frontiers that Muhammad had little leisure to spare for India, and "the northern provinces enjoyed a period of comparative repose, welcome to the troops after nine years' warfare, and beneficial to the country." Only, there was a rebellion at Ajmer fomented by the ruler of Anhilwara which was promptly attended to by Aibak. A Muslim governor was placed over Pithaura's natural son who had been left in possession of Ajmer in 1192 A.D. Hemraj the defeated rebel (a brother of Prithviraja) perished on a pyre like Jayapala, in 1194. Aibak led two expeditions against Raja Bhim of Anhilwara; one in 1195 and another in 1197. On the former occasion he defeated and slew Kumar Pala the commander of the army and looted Anhilwara, thus avenging Muhammad's defeat in 1182. On the latter occasion, he inflicted a more crushing defeat on Raja Bhim, when 15,000 men were slain and 20,000 taken captive, besides several elephants and much other booty. Anhilwara was again devastated.

Another of Aibak's glorious exploits in the absence of his master was the reduction of the Chandels of Central India. Their capital, Mahoba, was taken and the famous fortress of Kalinjar captured after a siege: 50,000 captives, male and female, were carried off as slaves together with enormous treasures; the temples were converted into mosques.

When Aibak was busy in the heart of Hindustan, another soldier of fortune, also a Turki slave, was engaged in reducing the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal for Muhammad Ghuri. This was Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji, a curious

specimen of the genus homo with his arms reaching up to the calves of his legs while standing erect. With these long arms he reached the easternmost parts of northern India. About 1197, he conquered Bihar and destroyed the last vestiges of Buddhism in that province, as the Arabs had done in Sind during the eighth century A.D. Then he proceeded into Bengal which fell in 1192 A.D. Let us listen to the familiar legend as told by Minhaj-us-Siraj in the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*:

When Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar 'came back from his visit to sultan (?) Kutb-ud-din and conquered Bihar, his fame reached the ears of Rai Lakshmaniya (Lakshmana Sena of Bengal) and spread throughout all parts of the Rai's dominions. Next year Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar prepared an army and marched from Bihar. He suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiya (Lakhnauti, Odantapuri) with only eighteen horsemen; the remainder of his army was left to follow.... The people rather thought that he was a merchant who had brought horses for sale. In this manner he reached the gate of Rai Lakshmaniya's palace, when he drew his sword and commenced the attack. At this time the Rai was at this dinner, and golden and silver dished filled with food were placed before him according to the usual custom. All of a sudden a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before he has ascertained what had occurred, Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyar had rushed into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Rai fled barefooted by the rear of the palace; and his whole treasure and all his wives, maid servants, attendants and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken and such booty was obtained by the Mohammedans as is beyond all compute. When his army arrived the whole city was brought under subjection and he fixed his headquarters there.'

Death of Shihab-ud-Din

When the work of consolidation and extension of his conquests was being thus carried on by his slaves, Muhammad Ghuri, was, as we saw, busy fighting the Turks in his brother's dominions. The history of the Ghaznavids was to repeat itself Muhammad was routed by the Turks at Andkhui in 1205 A.D. "a defeat which dealt a fatal blow at his military reputation in India." Rumours even spread in this country that the Sultan was killed. The Khokars on the frontier were the first to be affected by this news. They rose in revolt and under their leader, Rai Sal, they defeated the deputy governor of Multan, plundered Lahore, and blocked the strategic road between the Punjab and Ghazni. Aibak's efforts having proved unequal to the task in the face of persistent reports of Muhammad's death, the Sultan found it necessary to come in person. At the close of 1205 A.D. the combined forces of Muhammad and Aibak inflicted a crushing defeat on the Khokars

between the Jhelum and the Chenab. Besides slaughtering the enemy in large numbers, so many of them were captured alive that five Khokar slaves were sold for a dinar in the camp.

The victorious Sultan arrived in Lahore on 25 February 1206 A.D. and made arrangements for returning to Ghazni in order to resume his struggle against the Turks. But, unfortunately, on his way back, he was assassinated on the banks of the Indus by unknown hands—some say by the Chauhan Pithaura who was still alive, but this *prime facie* absurd; others attribute it to the Ismaili heretics or more plausibly to the infuriated Khakars. The body of the murdered Sultan was carried to Ghazni and buried in his capital. The same year (1206 A.D.) another, Muhammad also died at the eastern end of his vast empire of Hindustan. Ikhtiyar-ud-din, not content with his conquests of Bihar and Bengal was lured by the frontier tribes into attempting the impossible. As we mentioned while dealing with the history of Assam, the Muslims tried to penetrate Tibet through the frontiers of Kamrup and perished in the adventure. In the opinion of Sir Wolsley Haig. "This was the greatest disaster which had yet befallen the Muslim arms in India. Armies had been defeated, but Ikhtiyar-ud-din's force had been all but annihilated." Even the long arms of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad could not reach over the Himalayas, and he died disgraced in Lakhnauti, all but the sole survivor of the disastrous expedition. According to some authorities he was murdered by a Khalji Kinsman named Ali Mardan.

Two princes of the Ghuri family sat on the throne of Ghazni in quick succession, after Muhammad's death. But the real rulers of his empire were the four Turki slaves who had been placed in charge of the provinces while he was yet alive. Yildiz in Ghazni, Kubacha in Multan, Aibak in Delhi and Ikhtiyar-ud-din in Lakhnauti, would have ruled independently of each other, but for the masterful command of Aibald. Besides, Mahmud, Shihab-ud-din's successor at Ghazni, had sent him 'all the insignia of royalty,' as Firishta states, 'a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of king (Sultan?), being desirous of securing his interest, and being by no means able to oppose his power, if he refused to acknowledge him.'

Kubacha was Aibak's son-in-law and gave the new sovereign of Hindustan no trouble. Ikhtiyar-ud-din died in the sub-ordinate position he had always acknowledged to Aibak. Ali Mardan, Ikhtiyar's alleged murderer, by force and guile succeeded as governor in the eastern

provinces. But Yildiz alone challenged Aibak's sovereignty. In 208 A.D. he descended from Ghazni and captured Multan. However, Aibak drove him back and retaliated by taking Ghazni itself. Elated by this success Aibak over-reached himself. His troops treated the Citizens of the Imperial capital like those of any other conquered city, while Aibak regaled himself with copious wine. The people of Ghazni disgusted by these orgies called in Yildiz once again, and the first Slave king of Delhi precipitously withdrew to his own legitimate dominion. Early in November, 1210 A.D., falling from his horse while playing Chaugan (polo), Kutb-ud-din Aibak 'flew to heaven,' to use Babar's phrase describing the death of his own father.

The Slave Dynasty

Compared with Mahmud, Lane-Poole has remarked, the name of Muhammad Ghuri has remained obscure. "Yet his conquests in Hindustan were wider and far more permanent than Mahmud's." Though a larger part of these conquests was partial, and there were still revolts to be crushed and chiefs to subdued, 'from the days of Muhammad Ghuri to the catastrophe of the Indian Mutiny there was always a Mohammedan king upon the throne of Delhi.' As pointed out before, the credit of this achievement is due as much to Muhammad Ghuri's slaves as to his own initiative. Among these Aibak must rank with Babar as pioneer-founder of a great dynasty of rulers. Some of his successors might have added more glory to the empire as a whole, but the ground-work and example were Aibak's.

In the estimation of contemporary Muslim chroniclers, Aibak always acted 'in the ways of justice' and 'the people were happy.' The roads were freed from robbers and the Hindus both 'high and low were treated with royal benignity.' This, of course, did not preclude Aibak following the routine of Muslim conquerors in India, namely enslaving converting, destroying and looting as well as building mosques out of the ruins of Hindu temples. All this had become part of the military ritual of Islam. It followed as a matter of course in the wake of war. But once the 'collar of slavery' was fastened on the necks of the infidels taken in jihad the rest were rarely interfered with provided they paid the jizya. His munificence earned for Aibak the name of Lakh-bakhsh or 'Giver of lacs'. At Delhi he built the great Jami Masjid and possibly began the construction of the Kutab Minar, completed by his successor Iltutmish. In short, he was a 'fighter in the way of God.' He filled the

realm with 'friends' and cleared it of 'foes': 'His bounty was continuous, and so was his slaughter.'

After Aibak

After Aibak the first Slave king of Delhi (1206-10 A.D.), the 'dynasty', ruled over Hindustan for eighty years (1210-90 A.D.). There were only two outstanding figures during this period who made distinctive contribution to the crystallisation of Crescentdom in India. They were Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1210-35 A.D.) and Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1266-87 A.D.). Besides these, there were seven other members of the 'dynasty' who sat on the throne of Delhi, though they cannot be described as having truly ruled. One of them, indeed, reigned as many as twenty years (mahmud Nasir-ud-Din, 1246-66 A.D.), but even under him the power behind the throne was Balban. Of the remaining six, with the singular exception of Sultana Raziyat-ud-din (1236-40 A.D.)—the only Muslim queen who reigned of her own right at Delhi—all others were rois faineant. The character of this period cannot be better described than in the vivid words of Zia-ud-din Barani who writes:

'During the thirty years from the death of Shams-ud-din (1236-66 A.D.), the incompetency of that monarch's sons and the overweening power of the Shamsi slaves had produced a vacillating, disobedient, self-willed feeling among the people, which watched for the seized upon every opportunity. Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition.'

This was the outcome of not merely the political incompetency of the puppet princes who became pawns in the hands of ambitious adventurers at the capital, but also the result of rebellions in the provinces, both by the Hindus and Muslim governors who sought to found independent dynasties of their own. It could not be otherwise during the age when power rested solely with those who had the strength to wield it. The slaves came to rule not by hereditary or any other legal claim, but by the primal law of natural selection. As Lane-Poole has well observed, "While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master...the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents; even if he does, the very success and power of the father create an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort...On the other hand, the slave is the survival of the fittest; he is

chosen for mental and physical abilities, and he can hope to retain his position, in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting his fire is sealed. Both Iltutmish and Balban were tyrants of the Greek type. They took opportunity by the forelock and established their dictatorships."

An abortive experiment was made on the death of Aibak to create a hereditary monarchy. But Aibak's son Aram (a very significant name) proved a total failure. 'For the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty and the content of the hearts of the soldiery', a more competent person was necessary. He was found in Iltutmish, the governor of Badaun, slave and son-in-law of Kutb-ud-din Aibak.

The task to which Iltutmish had been summoned (1211 A.D.) was by no means an easy one. Aibak had hardly made his authority felt over Hindustan when he suddenly died of an accident. Yildiz had recovered his sovereignty in Ghazni, and Kubacha who had yielded to Aibak was not likely to submit to another slave. Bengal had been made of feel the weight of Aibak's personal authority, but its Khalji governor Ali Mardan Khan was in no mood to acquiesce in his successors' domination. Both east and west, therefore, the new Sultan of Delhi had to re-establish the power and prestige of this throne. Iltutmish was not unequal to this task. Before his death in 1235 A.D. he not merely succeeded in making himself master over his inheritance, but also rounded off the kingdom of Delhi by fresh conquests. Yildiz was defeated near the historic plain of Tarain (1215 A.D.), taken prisoner and finally put to death; Kubacha was nominally subdued in 1217 A.D. but continued in the charge of his province (Sind, Multan and west Punjab) until 1227 A.D. when his career was cut short by being drowned in the Indus. He was a thorn in the side of Iltutmish so long as he was alive.

Great trouble was caused in the eastern provinces of Bihar and Bengal by the intractable Khaljis. On hearing of Aibak's death the erratic Ali Mardan Khan had declared himself independent with the title of Ala-ud-din. "To his own subjects he was a ruthless and bloody tyrant, and the Hindu rulers on his borders stood in such awe of him that the tribute with which they conciliated him filled his treasury." Within two years he earned a tyrant's death by such conduct. Iwaz who succeeded Ali Mardan tried to walk in his footsteps but submitted to

Iltutmish in 1222 A.D. when Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (Iltutmish's son) was appointed governor of Oudh, with another governor over Bihar. In spite of this, however, Iwaz once again rebelled in 1227 A.D., but was defeated and put to death by Mahmud who occupied Lakhnauti and even won a victory over Britu, King of Kamrup (?). When Mahmud died, in 1229 A.D., Balka, a son of Iwaz, proclaimed himself king with the high sounding title Ikhtiyar-ud-din Daulat Shah Balka. Iltutmish marched against him, in 1230-31 A.D., and putting him to death, appointed Ala-ud-din Jani governor of Bengal.

While returning from Bengal, Iltutmish put down (1232 A.D.) the recalcitrant Mangal Bhava Deva of Gwalior who had recovered his independence during the easy interlude of Aram Shah's regime. Then he invaded Malwa, captured the fortresses of Bhilsa and Mandu and justified his title of Shams-ud-din ('Sun of the True faith') by destroying and looting the ancient temple of Mahakali in Vikramaditya's Ujjaini (1234 A.D.) Iltutmish did not long survive this campaign. An attempt was made on his life at Delhi by the fanatical sect of the Mulahids; but Iltutmish died of an illness in his bed in 1236 A.D.

Perhaps the greatest danger to which Hindustan had been exposed for years was that of the Mongols. They were Central Asian nomadic hordes which had been for a time welded into the greatest empire ever established by a single conqueror. Under the famous Chingiz (Jingiz) Khan, 1155-1227 A.D., they dominated over Tartary, China and the Caspian Sea. India just escaped this Mongolian Maelstrom, though the barbarian 'flood broke on our frontiers, depositing its flotsam and jetsam in western Punjab. Jalal-ud-din, the Shah of Khwarizm being driven out of Transoxiana, fell back on Afghanistan and western Punjab seeking assistance from Iltutmish. But the discreet Sultan of Delhi, dreading the consequences, desisted.

The desperate Shah, being brought to bay, played havoc in the territories ruled over by Kubacha. He was hotly pursued by Chingiz Khan and his uncouth barbarians who, however, found India too warm to attract them. Nevertheless, the Mongols continued to pester the Punjab for a generation or two until they were finally converted and absorbed into Mohammedan society. In their untegenerate form they were utter barbarians with a voice that rumbled like 'thunder in the mountains,' and hands that were powerful: like bears 'paws', able to 'break a man in two, as easily as an arrow may be broken'. Each of

them would eat a sheep a day, and drink enormous quantities of kumis or fermented mare's milk; and lie naked before immense braziers in winter, 'heedless of the cinders and sparks that fell on his body,' taking them for mere flea-bites. They treated the Muslims as the latter did the Hindus, burning, destroying and plundering their mosques and sacred things. They massacred men, women and children indiscriminately, and even disembowelled them to discover if they had swallowed any jewels. The poet Amir Khusrau describes touchingly how he suffered at their hands when once he had been taken captive by one of them:

'The Muslim martyrs, he says, dyed the desert with their blood, while the Muslim captives had their necks tied together like so many flowers into garlands. I was also taken prisoner, and from fear that they would shed my blood not a drop of blood remained in my veins. I ran about for water, here and there with innumerable blisters on my feet like bubbles on the surface of a stream. My tongue was parched and dry from excessive thirst and my stomach seemed to have collapsed for want of food. They left me nude like a leafless tree in winter or a flower that has been much lacerated by thorns. My Mongol captor sat on a horse like a lion bestriding the spur of a mounting; a disgusting stench came out of his mouth, etc., and on his chin there grew, like a hyacinth, a tuft of hair. If through weakness I lagged a little behind, he would threaten me sometimes with his frying pan and sometimes with his spear. I sighed and thought that release from such a situation was quite impossible. But, thank God, I did regain my freedom without my breast being pierced by an arrow or my body cut into two by the sword.'

Ilutmish reigned just over a quarter century (1211-36 A.D.). His great predecessor Aibak had been created Sultan by his lawful sovereign at Ghazni in 1206 A.D. During the four years of Aroak's rule as Sultan the kingdom of Delhi was yet in an embryonic state. Aibak's sudden death, as we saw, threatened it with dissolution. It was Ilutmish who rescued it from that fate. He resuscitated the Sultanate of Delhi and left it an integrated empire to his successors. The impression he created on his contemporaries may be inferred from the fact that the Caliph of Bagdad invested him with the title 'Aid of the Commander of the Faithful.' It is for this reason that Ilutmish has been considered the real founder of the kingdom of Delhi, though it is too much of an exaggeration to call him "the greatest of all the Slave Kings," as Sir Wolseley Haig has done. That title must be spared for Ghiyas-ud-din Balban say this is not to under-rate Ilutmish. He did the very necessary work of consolidation. Besides, he acquired the moral prestige in the Islamic world that the Caliph's recognition undoubtedly gave him. He

built or carried forward to its completion the great Minar of Kutb-ud-din. The name is attributed to the saint Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki of Ush, who was greatly honoured by Iltutmish and died in Delhi on 7 December, 1235.

The wide-spread belief that it must have been commenced by Aibak is due both to its name and an inscription on the monument itself. Its fifth and last storey is ascribed to Sultan Firuz Tughlak. It was erected in 1231 A.D. and is considered the tallest minaret in the world (about 242 ft. high). "Its boldly jutting balconies alternate angular and rounded fluting and fine Arabic inscriptions set off the natural contrasts of white marble and red sandstone of which it is built." Iltutmish was also the first to reform Muslim coinage in India. Before him there were the small native billons, with the bull on one the side and a horseman on the other, and inscribed often in both Nagari and Arabic. Iltutmish introduced the broad silver tanka ('the ancestor of the rupee, weighing 175 grains') with only Arabic inscription.

A Decade of Decadence

From the death of Iltutmish to the accession of Nasir-ud-din was a decade of decadence for Delhi (1236-46 A.D.). This was the second of the chaotic interludes that were to follow their inexorable periodicity during five centuries and more, in the absence of an accepted law of peaceful succession. After death of prince Mahmud who was governor at Lakhnauti, Iltutmish being disappointed in his other sons, had designated his daughter Raziya heiress apparent; but in spite of her exceptional abilities, it was more than apparent that succession would be disputed.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, a contemporary historian, tells us how Raziya was both peculiarly qualified and disqualified. 'She was' he says 'endowed with all qualities befitting a king; but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. (May God have mercy on her.) In the time of her father she had exercised authority with great dignity. The mother was the chief wife of His Majesty, and she resided in the chief royal palace in Kushk-Firuzi. The Sultan discerned in her countenance the signs of power and bravery, and although she was a girl and lived in retirement, yet when the Sultan returned from the conquest of Gwalior (1232 A.D.), he directed his secretary, who was director of the government, to put her name in writing as heir of the kingdom, successor to the throne.

To the objections raised by orthodoxy the king is said to have replied, "My sons are devoted to the pleasures of youth, and no one of them is qualified to be king. They are unfit to rule the country, and after my death you will find that there is no one more competent to guide the state than my daughter." Minhaj-us-Siraj adds confidently. 'It was afterwards agreed by common consent that the king had judged wisely.'

But in an age of 'blood and iron war was the only instrument of justice. The nobility would not acquiesce in the preposterous nomination of the late Sultan without the ordeal of battle. So they raised Rukn-ud-din, a brother of Raziya, to the throne. Then followed revolution and counter-revolution whose sanguinary details are absolutely unedifying. The governors of Oudh, Badaun, Hansi, Multan and Lahore were openly in revolt. Even Muhammad Junaidi, the vezir of the kingdom, would not acknowledge, the heiress-designate. But Raziya soon vindicated her father's selection by force of arms. She donned the clothes of men, put on the war paint like Hiawatha, and rode to battle like Chandbibi in after days. For a while she seemed to succeed, and from Lakhnauti to Debal all the maliks and amirs tendered obedience and submission to her. She attended open Court and transacted all the business of state ignoring her sex. She demonstrated, as the chronicle has described her, that she was a great monarch. 'She was wise, just and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies.' But this was too much for a woman to undertake in the thirteenth century A.D. Her rivals were soon upon her, especially 'the Forty' who were a powerful body of Turkish slaves at the Court. At their instigation Ikhtiyar-ud-din Altuniya, governor of Bhatinda, rebelled. The rock of offence was Sultana Raziya's Abyssinian favourite Yakut (who played the Earl of Essex to this Queen Elizabeth). When Raziya marched against Bhatinda accompanied by her favourite, the latter was assassinated and the Queen imprisoned. But the astute and romantic Raziya seduced and captivated her captor, Altuniya, and she married him as the price of her liberty. They both then marched to Delhi to recover the lost authority. In the meanwhile, the Forty had raised Raziya's half-brother Bahram to the throne. "There can be no doubt," according to Haig, "that the throne itself would ordinarily have been the prize of one of the Forty had not the jealousies of all prevented them from yielding preference to one. The Sultana and her consort were again defeated and on the following day they were both murdered by

the Hindus whom they had summoned to their assistance (14 October, 1240 A.D.). Thus, ended the second experiment at Delhi to settle the succession by the choice of the Sultan. (The first was the failure of Aibak's son and successor Aram Shah).

The next six years (1240-46 A.D.) were full of turmoil. Bahram, fearless full of courage and sanguinary, was himself assassinated by the king makers within two years, and another puppet was found in Ala-ud-din Masud a grandson of Iltutmish. The latter too made his way to prison and death through the familiar path of tyranny and debauch (1242-46 A.D.). Disorders spread through the country. The Sultan all but lost Bihar and Bengal in the east, and Sind and Multan in the west while the upper Punjab was wasted by Mongols and occupied by the Kohkars. In the midst of this turmoil the debauched Masud was deposed and his abstemious and pious uncle, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, was raised to the throne. This prince ruled for twenty years (1246-66 A.D.). The virtual ruler the power behind the throne during the period, as stated before, was Balban. He was a Turki slave whom Iltutmish had purchased in Delhi after his Gwalior campaign (1232 A.D.). He was Sultana Raziya's chief huntsman. Under Bahram and Masud he had risen to be Lord Chamberlain and acquired the fiefs of Rewari and Hansi. Latter he was entitled Ulugh Khan ('puissant lord') and gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. He wielded such power and acquired such prestige as chief minister during the twenty years of the latter's reign that he designated his successor by Nasir-ud-din and ascended the throne as a matter of course in 1266 A.D.

The personal history of Nasir-ud-din could be briefly told. He continued to reign so long because he was too much preoccupied with his own devotions to middle with the government of Ulugh Khan. 'The steed of rule' was under the latter's 'bridle.' Many legends have grow round the name of the pious and amiable Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. "The truth seems to be that the young king possessed the virtues of continence, frugality and practical piety, rare among his kind, and had a taste in calligraphy which led him to employ his leisure in copying the Koran, and that these merits earned for him exaggerated praise." Balban was dictator in all affairs of the state, except during a very short interlude.

Balban's Dictatorship

'The falcon of dominion and power' being thus 'placed upon his sacred wrist,' Balban dominated Hindustan during forty years, from 1246-86 A.D. During half this time he was chief minister and for the rest sovereign Sultan. Already in 1245 A.D., he had earned a reputation for himself by driving the Mongols hip and thigh out of India after defeating them at Uch. His task was a threefold one: (1) to keep the Mongols away; (2) to repress rebellious and scheming Muslim rivals; and (3) to put down Hindu revolts. In all these he eminently succeeded.

The refractory Hindu Rajas were the first to feel the weight of Balban's arms. The fortress of Talsanda in Kanauj territory was captured after much fighting in 1246 A.D. Then the country between Kara and Kalinjar was subdued. And finally, Rantambhor and Mewat were ravaged (1248 A.D.). The Hindus in the last named territory were the most difficult to repress, and they carried on their depredations against the Musalmans, off and on, for a long time, Ulugh Khan, before he became Sultan, led his last expedition against them in 1259 A.D. Then he gave vent to all the ferocity for which his reign was well known. Nearly 12,000 infidels were slaughtered indiscriminately: 250 of their leaders were made to feel the chains of bondage; and enormous booty including 21,00,000 tankas was brought to Delhi. Gwalior, Chanderi Malwa and Narwar had already been likewise treated in 1251-52 A.D.

A conspiracy was formed between Ulugh Khan's Muslim rivals to over-throw the all too powerful minister. In 1253 A.D. they succeeded in winning over the credulous Sultan to their side. Balban was for the time being exiled to his fiefs of Rewari and Hansi, and his place; as chief minister, was usurped by the head of the conspirators, a Hindu convert named Raihan. This eclipse, however, did not continue for more than a year. Jealousy among Raihan's own of owners, and the opposition of the Turki nobility led to a powerful combination against the usurper. A formidable army of the amirs and maliks from all parts of the country was led by Balban in 1254 A.D. against Raihan, and the Sultan was compelled to restore Ulugh Khan to his old position. Raihan was sent back to his fief of Badaun.

In 1255 A.D. one last effort was made by the Muslim governors of Oudh and Sind to challenge the dictatorship of Balban. In league with some of the amirs and maliks at the capital, and a few disaffected

Hindus, they sought to effect a junction. But their forces soon melted away. So did a Mongol invasion, under Nyuin Sari, in 1257 A.D. Two years later (1259 A.D.) an envoy was sent to Delhi by Chingiz Khan's grandson Halaku. He was received with great pomp and circumstance at a darbar presided over by the pious Sultan in person. After this we hear no more from contemporary chroniclers until we come to the accession of Balban himself as Sultan 1266 A.D.).

Balban the Doyen Slaves

More than twenty years of distinguished service had made Balban the premier statesmen as well as soldier in the kingdom. The Raihan episode had convinced Nasir-ud-din of the indispensable character of Balban to the state. So, before his death in 1266 A.D. the Sultan had nominated Ulugh Khan his successor to the throne, there being no male heir of his body. Besides, there was no one else who was equally competent to deal with the difficult situation. Nasir-ud-din, therefore, did justice both to his subjects and to his chief minister by nominating him sovereign successor. Balban more than justified his exaltation by his highly competent rule as Sultan during the next twenty years (1266-86 A.D.).

In the words of Zia-ud-din Barani, author of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, when he attained the throne he imparted to it new lustre, he brought the administration into order, and restored to efficiency institutions whose power had been shaken or destroyed. The dignity and authority of government were restored, and his stringent rules and resolute determination caused all men, high and low, throughout his dominions, to submit to his authority. Fear and awe of him took possession of all men's hearts, but his justice and his consideration for his people won the favour of his subjects and made them zealous supporters of his throne.'

Rule of 'Blood and Iron'

"Balban, the slave, water-carrier, huntsman, general statesman, and Sultan," writes Lane-Poole, "is one of the most striking figures among many notable men in the long line of the kings of Delhi." This impression was burnt into the memories of men by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban during the twenty years of his rule of 'blood and iron'. He was not devoid of softer feelings, for contemporary historians record many an anecdote about the Sultan being moved to tears. But the realist

in him recognized the requirements of the age, and Balban sedulously cultivated just those qualities as were calculated to contribute to the success of his ambitious designs. He was a man who wrought up to his own pattern; in this he spared neither himself nor others. Up to his accession he had not denied himself the lighter pleasures of life. But when he ascended the throne, he assumed a stem dignity that both awed and surprised his erstwhile peers. Barani's description of him presents us his correct picture:

Majesty

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was a man of experience in matters of government. From being a malik he became a khan, and from a khan he became a king.... In the first and second year he assumed great state, and made great display of his pomp and dignity. Muslims and Hindus would come from distances of one or two hundred leagues to see the splendour of his equipage, which filled them with amazement. No sovereign had ever before exhibited such pomp and grandeur in Delhi. For the twenty-two years that Balban reigned he maintained the dignity, honour, and majesty of the throne in a manner that could not be surpassed. Certain of his attendants who waited on him in private assured me that they never saw him otherwise than full-dress. During the whole time that he was Khan and Sultan, extending over nearly forty years, he never conversed with persons of low origin or occupation and never indulged in any familiarity, either with friends or strangers, by which the dignity of the Sovereign could be lowered. He never joked with any one, nor did he allow any one to joke in his presence; he never laughed aloud, nor did he permit any one in his Court to laugh. As long as he lived no officer or acquaintance dared to recommend for employment any person of low position or extraction. In the administration of justice he was inflexible, showing no favour to his brethren or children to his associates or attendants; and if any of them committed an act of injustice, he never failed to give redress and comfort to the injured person. No man dared to be too severe to his slaves or hand-maids to his horsemen or footmen.

Justice

An examination of a few relevant cases will show that Barani does not exaggerate, Malik Baqbaq of Badaun was a great nobleman who maintained 4,000 horse. But when he flogged one of his servants to death, Balban caused him to be treated likewise and, in addition,

hanged the news-writer of the place over the citygate for having failed to report the crime. Similarly, Haibat Khan, the fief-holder of Oudh, was given five hundred stripes for slapping one of his own servants, in a drunken fit, and then handed over to the widow of the victim with the recommendation. "This murderer was my slave, he is now yours. Do you stab him as he stabbed your husband." The unfortunate nobleman purchased his life and freedom from the woman for a price of 20,000 tankas, and hid his head in shame for the rest of his life.

Suppression of Robbery

The same sternness and ruthlessness displayed themselves in the establishment of peace, order and security in the realm. For this purpose, in the very first year of his reign, 'the ripe judgement and experience of Balban was directed in the first place to the organisation of his army, for the army is the source and means of government. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under the command of maliks of experience, of chiefs who held the first rank in their profession, and were brave, dignified and faithful.' The Meos of the Doab in particular had taken to very dangerous activities. They roved in huge gangs, like the Thugs six centuries later, and spread in all directions'. Delhi itself was so much molested by them that the city-gates had to be closed after afternoon prayers. They stripped naked even the water-carriers and women who came to draw water from the great reservoirs within the city-walls. All through the country from Delhi to Bengal the roads and jungles were infested with robbers. In the year following his accession, therefore, Balban devoted himself heart and soul to their extirpation.

The jungles were cleared, the Meos lurking in them put to death, forts were built and police outposts created in all the disturbed areas. In addition to this, as measures of precaution, the important towns and villages in the affected parts were granted as fiefs to powerful nobles. "Balban himself remained for many months in the districts of Patiyali, Kampil, Bhojapur and Jalali, extirpated all highway robbers, built forts at those places, garrisoned them with Afghans, who received lands in their vicinity for their maintenance, and by these measures secured the tranquillity of the roads between Delhi and Bengal for a century."

Repression of Hindus

When the Hindus of Katehar rebelled in 1260 A.D., they were put down with such severity that 'The plain of Hauz Rani and the gates

of Delhi remembered no punishment like this, nor had one heard of such a tale of horror. By royal command many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants, and the fierce Turks cut the bodies of the Hindus in two. About a hundred met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw, and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The blood of the rioters ran in streams, heaps of the slain were seen near every village and jungle, and the stench of the dead even spread to the Ganges'. Males over eight years were killed and women carried into slavery. As a result of this holocaust and slaughter, the districts of Badaun, Amroha, Sambhal and Gannaur enjoyed the peace of death for thirty years. In 1268-69 A.D. again Balban raided the Salt Range, defeated and plundered the Hindus and captured so many horses that each animal sold in camp for 30 or 40 tankas. Balban distrusted the Hindus and never countenanced their employment in any office.

The Mongols

Though often defeated and driven out of India, the Mongol incursions never completely ceased. The reception accorded to their leader Halaku's envoy in the previous reign had indeed resulted in diplomatic exchanges between the Courts at Tabriz and Delhi, but this was only a truce. The menace of the Mongols being ever present on the north-west frontier, Balban had to maintain a formidable force in that region, throughout his reign. At first, he had placed his own cousin, Sher Khan Sunqar, in charge of the Punjab. But during his Salt Range campaign, described above, Balban discovered grave irregularities in the feudal arrangements of the frontier provinces, and replaced Sher Khan by his own sons, Princes Muhammad and Bughra Khan (1270 A.D.). Sher Khan having shown contumacious tendencies was recalled to Court where he died under suspicious circumstances; it is suggested, poisoned at Balban's instance.

Prince Muhammad, the eldest son of Balban and heir-apparent to the throne, was a capable and enlightened governor. The poets Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan lived at his court. "In him were centred all the hopes of the stern old king: for him the Forty were doomed, and for him the blood of near kinsmen was shed. Before his departure he was formally designated heir-apparent and was invested with some of the insignia of royalty." But all this proved vain in the event; for, though the Mongols had been beaten off in 1279 A.D., they again appeared

in 1285. This time the Prince won a pyrrhic victory, as he was himself slain in ambush to the great sorrow of his father who thereafter always referred to him as the Shahid or martyr.

Bengal was the most intractable part of the empire. Lakhnauti, its capital, was known at Delhi as Balghakpur or 'the city of rebellion.' Tughril, its governor, though a trusted slave of Balban, 'hatched the egg of ambition in his head,' finding his opportunity in the Sultan's illness in 1279 A.D. and the Mongol invasion of that year. He assumed royal insignia and had the khutbah read in his own name. Balban dispatched two generals, Amin Khan and Malik Targhi, in succession: but both were defeated. Their armies were subdued with the gold no less than the arrows of the enemy. The infuriated Sultan in his paroxysm of rage, ordered the defeated generals to be hanged over the gates of Ajodhya, and prepared to take the field in person. Though the rains had commenced, Balban accompanied by his younger son Bughra Khan, sailed down the Jamuna and the Ganges with a large fleet of boats. By the time he was in Oudh his army numbered 200,000. Tughril, getting reports of this, sought refuge in flight. He fled from Lakhnauti, with his army and most of the inhabitants, to Jajnagar (modern Orissa). There he was pursued and brought down by the arrows of a small reconnoitering party under Malik Muqaddir who gained by this adventure the title of Tughril-Kush, or 'the slayer of Tughril'. Then followed reprisals that shocked even the generation that had got accustomed to Balban's rule of 'blood and iron'.

The two miles bazar street of Lakhnauti was lined with stakes on either side on which were impaled the bodies of the unfortunate rebels and their families. Other atrocities followed and having glutted his revenge, Balban called his son Bughra Khan to witness the shambles, and addressed these memorable words to him: "Understand me, and forget not, that if the governors of Hind or Sind, Malwa or Gujarat, Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependents will fall upon them, and their wives and children, and all their adherents." The renegades and suspects in the Delhi army just escaped this fate on their return to the capital (1282 A.D.) owing to the intercession of the old Kotwal of Delhi, Bughra Khan was left behind in charge of the province of Bengal where he and his descendants continued to rule till 1339 A.D.

While the descendants of Balban thus endured for half a century longer in a province that had ever proved refractory, at Delhi itself Balban's successors were overthrown in the course of less than five years after the death of the greatest Sultan of the Slave Dynasty. Balban himself died in 1286 A.D., within a year of Prince Muhammad's catastrophic end. The octogenarian Sultan, though he stoically went through all the business of the state in public after this, is said to have been so much affected that he tore his garments and threw dust on his head in utter sorrow when he was alone. Before he breathed his last, however, he nominated Bughra Khan, as his successor. But that indolent and sensual prince shirked the responsibility, and the disappointed father finally left the throne to the 'Martyr Prince' Muhammad's youthful son Kaikhusrau. Nevertheless, affairs at Delhi could not be so easily settled. No sooner were the aged Sultan's eyes stilled in death, than the Turki nobles raised another callow youth, Kaikubad (son of Bughra Khan), to the throne. Brought up under the iron restraints of his grandfather, Kaikubad utilised his elevation to degrade himself and the nobility. Orgies of all kinds of sensual indulgence became the routine at Court, and Malik Nizam-ud-din a nephew of the influential Kotwal of Delhi, usurped all real power. Kaikhusrau, the heir-designate of Balban, was murdered in cold blood. Likewise were a number of nobles of the ancient regime executed under various charges. Khwaja Khatir vezir of the Sultan himself did not escape humiliation: seated on an ass he was paraded through the streets of the capital.

Such insensate tyranny could not continue for long, however, Nemesis came in the shape of a Mongol raid. Under their leader Tamar Khan of Ghazni, they harried the Punjab and plundered Lahore. But the existence of Balban's efficient army saved Delhi. The 'New Muslims', as the converted Mongols were called, who had settled in the vicinity of Delhi were massacred by way of reprisals. In the wake of this, even the listless Bughra Khan from Bengal marched to Delhi with a large army, ostensibly 'to pay homage to the Sultan but really to rescue his son from the tyranny of Nizam-ud-din. When he had to leave the capital disappointed, touchingly he took leave of Kaikubad and sighed as he left saying, "Alas; I have seen the last of my son; and the last of Delhi." Events very soon proved these gloomy anticipations. Faction fights arose between the Turks and the Khaljis. Nizam-ud-din was himself dismissed and poisoned, and the wretched

Kaikubad, stricken with paralysis (the natural consequence of his excesses) was kicked to death by one of the soldiers as he lay helpless in his palace. The last of the Slave family to reign at Delhi thus died the death of a slave. His body was unceremoniously rolled up in his bed and thrown into the Jamuna. The throne was seized by Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji who was Ariz-i-manalik or Muster Master of the Army. He was crowned at Kalghari on 13 June, 1290, entitled Jalal-ud-din Firuz Shah Khan. A new dynasty came into power at Delhi, destined to carry Muslim conquest a stage further, into South India, in the course of the next thirty years.

SOME RELEVANT DATES

A.D.

712	Arab invasion of Sind.
1001	Mahmud of Ghazni's first invasion of India.
1186	Muhammad Ghuri overthrew the last Ghaznavid at Lahore.
1206-10	Kutb-ud-din Aibak the first Slave Sultan at Delhi.
1221-22	Chingiz Khan's invasion of India.
1240	Mongols hold all Russia tributary.
1258	Destruction of Bagdad by Halaku.
1260-94	Kubla Khan, Halaku's brother, rules from Hungary to China.
1271-96	Travels of Marco Polo.
1286	Death of Balban, the greatest Slave King.
1290	Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji's accession.
1296-1307	Repeated Mongol incursions in the Punjab.
1303	Sack of Chitor by Ala-ud-din Khalji.
1310-11	Malik Kafur carried Muslim arms to Madura and Ramesvaram (?).
1318	End of the Yadava kingdom of Deogiri, Harapala flayed alive. Four Franciscans burnt for heresy at Marseilles.

5

Ala-ud-Din Khalji

The throne to which Ala-ud-Din Khalji ascended was no bed of roses. The kingdom which he had to rule was in complete disorder. His uncle, Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was an aged, kind-hearted and weak king. He could not stem the tide of deterioration that was demolishing his kingdom during his seven years rule, because of his weak policy. As Jalal-ud-Din was murdered the administration of the country touched the lowest ebb. The crown decorated the head of the nephew of the king, who was also his son-in-law, while the crown prince, Arkali Khan was pushed off the throne. This change served the last blow to the prestige and peace of the kingdom of Delhi. Since the Turks had ruled the northern Indian territories for about one century before the advent of the Khaljis, not only they but the masses as well disliked the dynastic change. The masses had got accustomed, gradually, to the rule of the Turks. This was the reason as to why the coronation of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din took place at Kilu Garhi instead of Delhi where Turkish nobles and the general public considered this as an act of usurpation. Although Sultan Ala-ud-Din won quite a large number of friends, showering his gold freely at them, yet there were still a considerable number of Muslim Jagirdars and Hindu zamindars, who were against the ruling monarch's certain personal interests.

A large part of the country was given as jagirs, 'auqafs', 'imlaks' and 'inams'. This not only had reduced the revenue tremendously but also had added greatly to the power of the jagirdars and free-holders. These people could create danger for the king at any moment. Their loyalty to the new Sultan was definitely doubtful, because they were all Jalali nobles.

As the centre grew weak, the Hindu zamindars followed their

own path and refused to pay jizia and kharaj. This unbridled conduct of these zamindars robbed the government treasury of its resources and added to the internal disorder.

On the other hand, the Mughals invaded the northern parts of India every year without fail. They slaughtered tens of thousands, and carried away an equal number as slaves to be sold in the markets of Central Asia. They destroyed the crops and burned villages and towns. They drove away the cattle wealth of the country. The whole country appeared a vast ruin as they left it. Every year it looked as if that was going to be the last year of the Khalji rule in India.

Their raids also gave a lever to the forces of discontent. In their raids the turbulent elements in the country—the disaffection of the Hindu chiefs, the jealousies of the ‘maliks’ ‘amirs’ and the prevalence of robbery and brigandage—found great stimulus.

As a consequence of all this, trade and agriculture were paralysed. These regular raids had totally blocked the trade paths leading to Central Asia. This ruin of the trade and agriculture, the internal disorder, and the weakness of the central government, made the food stuffs and the other necessities of life almost extinct in the markets and thus very costly. This led to hoarding and black marketing, which added to the wealth of the rich but made the poor almost paupers.

The moral condition, which was quite lax already suffered a further setback. The administrative machinery was extremely inefficient. The provincial governors were semi-independent and showed no respect for the instruction, issued from the central authority civil administration had totally failed. They could neither collect revenue nor enforce any necessary steps on the people without the aid of the armed forces. In all the government departments and in the revenue department specially corruption and dishonesty was rampant.

On his ascending the throne, Ala-ud-Din had to face these problems. Each one of these problems was so complicated and difficult of solution that it could disturb the greatest of civil or military administrators. But the Sultan in spite of young years did not show any fear. He tackled each and every problem in turn and found very efficient solution to it.

Before passing judgement of Ala-ud-Din all the circumstances that produced that poisonous atmosphere should be fully reckoned with. Then and then alone can we form an idea of the true greatness that

belongs to the Sultan. He became the ruler of such an empire, where nothing was straight or smooth. Internal peace and order was absent, outside invasions were common, the government treasury was empty, the people were hungry, the nobles and jagirdars were disobedient and disloyal, the government officials inefficient and corrupt and the central authority did not enjoy any power or prestige.

He tried to cure the diseased roots on which the administration rested. But if his prescription did not work smoothly he did not hesitate to make use of the blade.

As his intentions were noble and his prescription apt, he achieved a glorious success.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji had understood it well that the internal disorder, the invasions of the Mughals, the high handedness of the jagirdars and zamindars and the suffering prestige of the government, all resulted from the weakness of the centre. The power and the perpetuation of a kingdom rests on a strong army and an efficient civil administrative machinery. Therefore, he paid his prior attention to this.

As he had been raining gold on his way from Kara to Delhi, he had succeeded in gathering around him 56,000 counted soldiers (sawars) and 60,000 infantry. But these soldiers were neither well trained nor well disciplined. Moreover their loyalty was also doubtful. He took it upon himself to reorganize his armed might. He constructed new forts and repaired old ones and established new cantonments. He concentrated war material and provisions there. He appointed experienced and trusted soldiers as the commanders of these places equipping them well with the modern weapons of war.

He changed the recruitment method and method of payment to the army. Previously, the nobles were granted jagir, in return for which they supplied an agreed number of 'sawars' and infantry. This system had inner defect in it, because this army owed its loyalty more to its immediate commander than to the king. Ala-ud-Din discontinued this method once for all. Now the army was recruited in the name of king and was paid in cash from the government treasury. As a result of this system the Sultan became not only the supreme commander but also the pay master-general of the army as well. And thus he obtained the full loyalty of the army for him. This gave the Sultan a greater hold on the army than any one of his predecessors could ever have. Because these soldiers now owed their allegiance directly to him and were bound

or their immediate commanding officers only by an official tie and not by one of personal and feudal attachment.

A sufficient salary was fixed for every soldier which amounted to 234 tankahs annually or to nearly twenty tankahs per month plus rations. As this pay was quite considerable keeping in view the abundance of the foodgrain and other necessities of life the price of which was a regulated under the price control system, profession of a soldier became quite respectable and attractive. Just imagine how much twenty tankahs meant in those glorious days of Ala-ud-Din. One could get two seers of wheat for one jital or one pice and the price of a goat was not more than ten pice. Another great advantage to the soldier was that they received their due share from 'ghanainis' and this share, many times was so great that according to Isami even the poorest soldiers would become rich overnight.

Ala-ud-Din adopted the system of Dagh (branding of the horses) to add to the efficiency of his army and the credit, due to a pioneer, must go to Sultan for having introduced this system of 'Dagh' in Hindustan. This brought to an end every type of fraud and deception. Ala-ud-Din was the first king to put a well equipped army on a regular footing and make it a standing one, because, all others before him, had only their 'body-guards' as a standing army.

He started many ordnance factories for the manufacture of the latest weapons of war. He also made arrangements to keep this army well supplied with horses of the best breed. This step was needed because the supply of good steeds from Central Asia had ceased on account of the raids of the Mughals. In fact, when his power was at its zenith, the Sultan had 475,000 soldiers in his army and the number of horses in the royal stables near Delhi and its precinct alone was 70,000. Moreover 50,000 personal slaves were always ready to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their master. These steps made his army invincible. This army was one of the best in those days and it commanded respect not only in India but also in Central Asia where wild Mughals would tremble in their shoes whenever a reference was made to it.

After he had built his army to his satisfaction the Sultan paid special attention to the reorganisation of police and intelligence services. In every city and town 'qazis', 'kotwals' and 'muhtasibs' were appointed and they were helped in their work by a fairly large number

of police. It was their responsibility to maintain peace and order in their respective areas and to protect people from thieves, dacoits and thugs. They had to settle the mutual disputes of the people, and also to keep an eye on their religious and moral trends. It was enjoined on them not to discriminate between the rich and the poor in the matter of law and to punish all those who acted against the law and principle of local responsibility was introduced. Amir Khusrau says that:

“The very thieves who, before this, set villages on fire, now lit the lamp and guarded the highways; if a traveller lost a piece of thread, the people of the vicinity either found it or paid its price.”

The result of such measures was that the roads became safe and in the poet's own words, “from the mouth of the Indus to the seashore, no one even heard the name of a thief, a thug or a robber.” The Sultan devoted his maximum attention to his intelligence system. The agents of this department were present in every corner of the country who kept the Sultan informed of all that went on there. Because of this very efficient system he knew the activities of his nobles and the government officials and the general public as well. He received timely information as to whatever mischief was about to crop up and this enabled him to nip the evil in the bud. This system bore a rich fruit for administration, became extremely efficient and every man realised his duties and performed them honestly. He did not rest content with the performance of this department alone. He collected information personally through his slaves and servants. This thing kept the spies on the alert and the possibilities of misleading reports reaching him were eliminated.

Thus equipped with these three extremely dependable and useful weapons *i.e.*...strong army might, efficient civil administrative machinery and very successful espionage system....he struck fiercely at his enemies wherever they were and vanquished them completely.

At his first opportunity the Sultan gave attention to those forces of disorder which had destroyed the peace of the whole country. The first among them were the Jalali nobles who in the days of their lord and patron Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji, held positions of high prestige and owned very big jagirs. Those nobles administered their jagirs without any interference from the centre and they had armed infantry and cavalry at their disposal.

When Sultan Jalal-ud-Din was murdered at Kara and Ala-ud-Din marched towards Delhi, the capital, in order to occupy the throne then

all these Jalali nobles deserted the sons of their deceased king and turned the followers of Ala-ud-Din. There were only a few exceptional cases who did not do this. The cause of the failure of sons of Sultan Jalal-ud-Din and Malika-i-Jahan in face of Ala-ud-Din was actually this that their own nobles did not remain faithful to them.

In the beginning Ala-ud-Din won them over to his side by presenting them with large sums of money. He also promoted them in their ranks. But the fact was that on both sides sincerity was absent and the motives were selfish. Since these nobles had joined Ala-ud-Din's forces for the sake of money and high ranks, Sultan was not satisfied with their pledge of faithfulness. As a result the moment he found himself secure on his throne, he decided to strike at their powerful position. This decision was based on the demands of statesmanship. Ala-ud-Din had his own followers and friends who had helped him into the position of power. They had to be rewarded for their services and the rewards could be ready money, big jagirs and high ranks. But all this had already been granted to Jalali nobles.

At the same moment the treasury which had been left over the Jalal-ud-Din was almost empty. So in the second year of his accession the Sultan appointed his Wazir Nusrat Khan to deal with the Jalali nobles. He removed them from the high government offices and turned their jagirs into crown lands. It should be remembered that their jagirs were not their personal property. The gold which they had received from Ala-ud-Din for their treachery towards the sons of their previous master was also taken back from them. It is said that in this way Nusrat Khan confiscated property worth about one crore. This brought to an end the influence of the Jalali nobles and strengthened the government treasury. Also the Sultan got a happy riddance from a nobility, whose loyalty was always doubtful. After this he created a new nobility, whose distinctive feature was its loyalty and friendship for Ala-ud-Din. This measure of resumption of grants is important as showing that grants were in fact held merely at the king's pleasure, and were liable to resumption at any time.

A very interesting feature of this story of purge and punishment is that only three Jalali nobles were spared and they were Malik Qutub-ud-Din Alvi, Nasir-ud-Din Rana, (Shahna-i-Feel); and Malik Amir Jamal Khalji, father of Qadar Khan. These three nobles had remained faithful to the sons of their deceased lord till the last moment. And the glitter of Alai gold had failed to make them traitors. For this display

of their faithfulness Sultan Ala-ud-Din spared them and did not let any harm come to their life, their honour and their wealth. And they lived a life of comfort and honour till the end of Alai period. This clearly shows that Ala-ud-Din attached a very great value to loyalty and faithfulness, even when he found this virtue in his enemies.

This lessening of the influence of the jagirdars is one of the most remarkable achievements of Ala-ud-Din. Awe-inspiring Sultan Balban had also tried to do the same but was forced to abandon his efforts and admit defeat.

Then Ala-ud-Din turned to the question of reducing those Hindu land-holders who held lands from the state on condition of paying a stipulated amount of revenue. These land-holders should be distinguished from semi-independent or independent rajas who did not hold land directly from the state but were allowed to rule over their territories on condition of paying a lump sum amount to the Delhi Sultan as tribute. These Hindu land-holders acted as a sort of middlemen between the government and the cultivators either as revenue farmers or collectors. They have been indifferently styled as *Muqaddam* (headmen) *Khuts* (farmer of revenue) and *Chaudhris* (revenue collector).

It seems that the Muslim conquest produced but little change in the rural areas, for the country districts at a distance from the metropolis or the provincial capitals remained practically independent under these Hindu chiefs and assignments were given to them on lands, and they were expected to raise the local revenue and pay it to the exchequer.

The Muslim governing class consisting of the Sultan and the *Valis* (provincial governors) had their sphere of control limited to the towns; it was the Hindu chief who was the link between the provincial governor, usually a Muslim, and the Hindu peasants. These middlemen were responsible for the local administration as well as for the collection of revenue on behalf of the state for which they were given special concessions. Besides getting their dues for the work of collection they were allowed liberal concessions in holding land and pastures for themselves.

But there was no love lost between the Muslim *Vali* and the Hindu intermediary. Each was suspicious of the other. And while the Muslim master was content to leave the Hindu chief and zamindars alone and

let them enjoy a larger measure of independence as long as he paid his dues, the latter would avail themselves of every opportunity of collecting money and accumulating the sinews of war. At times they would tyrannize over the peasantry, at others they would become arrogant and politically disaffected. And they were ever ready to form the rank and file of any rebel prince or noble. Such was the case with Malik Chhaju. When he revolted against Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, he recruited Hindus freely in his army. At the head of an enormous following of Rawats...the term Brarani employs for the Hindus....he marched against the Khalji rule. Given the slightest opportunity they would assert their complete independence and would refuse to pay his dues to the Muslim Vali (governors).

This is why Ala-ud-Din adopted repressive measures but he was fully justified....because experience had taught him that the Hindu peasantry could under no circumstance be neglected, and could not be left to be exploited by the Hindu chiefs or intermediaries; and latter could not with impunity be allowed to accumulate sinews of war *i.e.*, men and money.

It was too much to hope that these Hindu chiefs, masters of the peasantry and possessors of considerable military force, and masters of their domains, enjoying rich legacies, and having a long and unbroken local independence, would always be loyal to their Muslim rulers.

While analysing the causes of rebellion, Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji found the increasing great powers of the Hindu chiefs to be the principal cause; and he set about curtailing them.

When Ala-ud-Din had not spared the Muslims of hesitated to deprive them of their peculiar privileges, there was no reason for him to show any favour to the Hindu officials. Besides the loss of revenue to the state their mutual quarrels were responsible for some political disorder also. Both for political and financial reasons they were to be dealt with. Ala-ud-Din therefore, withdrew all the self-acquired concessions that they had hitherto enjoyed. He abolished all distinction between the different classes of landholders and introduced uniformity. Between Muqaddam (headman) and the Bulhar (the village watchman), he would make no distinction. It was a levelling stroke against the Hindu privileged classes. Neither Muslims nor the Hindu allowed to enjoy and special privileges in the matter of Kharaj.

It is unfair to say that Ala-ud-Din specially aimed at crippling the Hindus as such. The extravagant language used by Barani is indicative of the superficial nature of his observations. Ala-ud-Din's action was quite legitimate, for, strictly speaking, the Khuts and Muqaddams had no right to anything also beyond their share or commission on collection.

Ala-ud-Din had abolished neither the 'Iqta' nor the 'Khati' system. His sole object was to abolish privileges that were enjoyed at the expense of the government and contributed to disorder and difficulties in revenue collection. The Khuts continued to live and get their dues (Khati) for the services, but nothing more. They had to pay like others the land, house and grazing taxes.

These measures produced the desired results. Firstly, the influence of the Hindu privileged classes came to an end. Secondly, the government treasury was enriched. Thirdly, the tillers of the land not only became safe from illegal exploitation and 'begar' but also enjoyed real peace for the first time in their existence. Before this they were victimized by the Khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhris during their mutual disputes. Now they had no cause for worry and were able to attend to the problems of their land. This made them safe from the hands of the thieves and the dacoits who enjoyed the protection and support of these zamindars. The prevailing atmosphere of peace and security resulted in giving a touch of abundance to the agricultural products.

In undivided India the greatest danger for a Muslim king was from two sides, firstly, from the Muslim nobles and secondly, from the Hindu zamindars. In Muslim India, the internal disorder, rebellions, the moral crimes, the court intrigues....in short all the force of disruption were subservient to the interests of these two groups.

The Sultan, in his own characteristic way, found a solution to these threats. He eliminated the various illegal ways by which these people used to make wealth and this decrease in their wealth brought to an end their military as well as their political strength. In addition to this the Sultan exercised every type of control on these people; so that they should lose their power to dissent. Then it became possible for the Sultan to lead a life of peace and to remain safe from all disturbances.

The independent power of these people fell under the control of the Sultan and he used it towards constructive ends.

Land Reforms

The economy of India has been dependent on land and the land products since times immemorial. The prosperity of the country has always been dependent on the growth and development of land. In Muslim India a great part of the cultivated land of the country had been distributed as 'jagir' 'waqfs' and 'inams'. Here, almost all the allottees were Muslims. The jagirdari system brought a big decrease in the income of government treasury, the reason being that the revenue from land went to the private coffers of the jagirdars and the nobles instead of going to the central treasury.

The first step that the Sultan took was to resume these lands and to convert them to crown lands. In this way he rooted out the jagirdari system from his kingdom, though even after this he granted jagirs to his faithful followers. But these new jagirdars were different from the big land-holders because they had to pay revenue and other taxes to the treasury. This was a very daring step taken by the Sultan. Before him the powerful Sultan Balban had also tried to enforce this step but had failed to do so. As a matter of fact, there was no legal hitch in resuming these lands in the name of the government but the real difficulty lay in the opposition of these jagirdars which could take a dangerous shape. This step not only improved the condition of the treasury but also broke the power of the jagirdars. After this every government official was paid his salary from the royal treasury according to his services in cash.

The other group that held the land and the peasants in its cruel clutches was of the Hindu zamindars, consisting of 'Khuts', 'Muqaddams' and 'Chaudhris'. They were draining the blood of the peasants and the government alike like a leech and were flattening on it. The real duty of this group was to collect the revenue from the peasants and to deposit it in the government treasury after deducting the due commission known as 'Khuti.' These people enjoyed certain privileges as well. After the death of Sultan Balban when some weak kings sat on the throne of Delhi, these people became disobedient. They started making an unfair use of their knowledge about land and the peasants. They imposed their own taxes on the peasants. They also stopped the payment of Jizia and Kharaj to the government. While at the same time they started spending on their own persons the government revenue. The result was obvious. The biggest source of government income was blocked. The Sultan took away the privileges enjoyed by

these Khuts, Muqaddams and Chaudhris and in the matter of payment of the government taxes no distinction was allowed between these privileged classes and the ordinary peasants. Now these people could only have their commission and nothing else.

These steps taken by the Sultan not only produced a big increase in the income of the treasury but also made it more certain and more regular. The end of these privileges also removed their undue pressure on the peasants and stopped their power to amass wealth in unfair ways.

The peasant was now free his previous worries and he could concentrate his attention on increasing land products which brought prosperity to the country.

The Sultan raised the rate of the land revenue up to fifty per cent of the total produce of the land. Now this is the last limit allowed by the Muslim law. Although the Sultan had to face great financial difficulties yet in spite of that he did not cross the limit fixed by the Law. It must be remembered that in the case of Sultan Ala-ud-Din the financial difficulties did not crop up because he spent no money on his own personal pleasures. In fact, he had to raise a strong army to prepare himself for meeting effectively the threat of the Mughal invasions.

Besides the land tax the government of Ala-ud-Din realized house tax and grazing fees. But to give a relief to the poor peasants and small zamindars, the Sultan exempted two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats from taxation. Any cattle above these figures if sent for pasture had to pay grazing fee provided they were milk producing. As the tax was on grazing, the cattle that were fed at home were exempted from it. The grazing tax probably was responsible for the increase in the price of the meat. Instead of removing the grazing tax, Ala-ud-Din abolished the zakat on the cattle. It has not been mentioned why Sultan preferred to lose the cattle tax rather than the grazing fee, which was much less as compared with the former. Probably his object was to prevent the cultivable land from being enclosed for pastures. This was what the Khuts and Muqaddams most likely did, and this Ala-ud-Din was anxious to stop for numerous reasons, especially for the food production on which the economy of the country depended.

It is very surprising that Afif does not mention charai which Firuz included in the list of taxes which he abolished. Grazing dues had been levied on animals since time immemorial Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji

was not the first king to levy this tax, but he only gave orders that the tax should be strictly enforced. Unfortunately, Barani does not give details of the imposts, but Abul Fazal has given a description of its nature. It was a tax on land liable to pay 'kharaj' but left uncultivated and enclosed for pasturage. The rates mentioned are low, and if they had been heavy under the Sultan and had brought a large amount of the money to the exchequer Afif would not have completely ignored it.

Another tax which finds mention with charai is karhi, which some authors have taken to mean a house tax, but which was more probably identical with charai. There can be no doubt about the antiquity of these taxes. They can be traced back easily to the days of Kautilya. Muslim rulers found it so difficult to eradicate them because the custom was too deeply ingrained in the tradition of the people.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din realised that the taxes were heavy and were bound to tell seriously upon all classes particularly the cultivators. He had no sympathy for the well to do class and did not worry about them. But he was anxious to see that the local revenue-farmers and land-holders who had been deprived of their privileges did not shelve their burden on the shoulders of the poor, as they usually did. These poor peasants of Tripathi were Hindus and not Muslims. At the same time he was no more prepared to be defrauded or suffer from the venality of the revenue officials. In his attempt to find a solution he was led further in his reforms.

The first important step he took was to insist on the actual measurement of land. It was on the basis of the actual cultivation that he realized taxes. The Muslim law (shari'ah) ever since the time of Omar, the Great, recognised measurement of land as an important basis for assessment. However, Ala-ud-Din appears to be the first ruler of India who laid emphasis on the system of measurement. By adopting the system of measurement on a large scale the government could keep a close eye on the land-holders, the cultivators and the revenue collectors. This system eliminated all danger of any injustice and the state and the peasants both were in a happy position.

One of the standing evils in the collection of revenue consisted in defective realisation which usually left large balances to be accounted for. As the revenue system was yet in the making and the machinery for assessment and collection was yet undeveloped, unrealised balances

were perhaps inevitable. There was another trouble also. The Central Government was already overworked, while bribery among revenue-officials, particularly of the lower grads was rampant. To deal with the balances Ala-ud-Din created the office of the Mustakhraj. The duties of the Mustakhraj were to inquire into the arrears lying in the name of the collectors or agents, and realised them. He was vested with penal powers.

But for curbing the venality of the lower officials he adopted two measures. With the commonsense that he possessed, Ala-ud-Din realised that low salaries of revenue officials exposed them to temptation. He, therefore, raised their salaries so as to enable them to live in respectability and comfort without resorting to corruption. The pay of a clerk was equal to a soldier. But that was not enough to improve their moral tone. Ala-ud-Din, therefore, inflicted drastic punishment whenever a man was charged with bribery or embazzlement. On one charge or the other about ten thousand men.....Amils and clerks.....were extremely humiliated and severely punished. The figure need not be taken literally. These measures considerably checked corruption and bribery, and also enriched the exchequer.

Another important measure of Ala-ud-Din was the examination of the papers (Bahi) of Patwaris with a view to know the exact figures entered in the name of revenue collectors. It was a step in the right direction. Ala-ud-Din was apparently the first Indian rulers whose hands reached as far as the records of Patwaris, which were the best sources of information on all matters pertaining to the land and its revenue.

As to the system of payment, Ala-ud-Din was not very particular about payment in cash. On the other hand, he preferred payments in kind as he was anxious to see that his regulations of prices were well carried out. This system proved helpful for the peasants as well. For he could pay his revenue in kind instead of first changing their produce into cash which involved many difficulties.

These reforms strengthened the position of the treasury. The conquest of Gujarat made it possible to establish trade with the foreign countries. Meanwhile, the conquest of the Deccan and the South had also started which brought immense spoil money and regular payment of kharaj from these newly conquered territories. The result was that

the government treasury was filled to the brim. This wealth enable the Sultan to lay the foundation of a very powerful standing army. He also constructed many forts, palaces, mosques and inns. In this way he took many useful steps for the welfare of his subjects.

Price Control System

After the restoration of complete peace inside the country the Sultan concentrated his attention on a problem which had all along been considered insoluble. This most difficult problem was to bring down the prices of the various commodities essential for life and especially the grain, to a level, where it should be possible for the poorest man to have his fill. There the Sultan succeeded so well that not only his own subjects but even his worst critics regarded it miraculous.

The Sultan was determined to remove the scarcity and the dearness of grain. He personally looked for some solution, then consulted his ministers and nobles and ultimately reached the conclusion that the imposition of control on the prices of grain could prove effective in this direction. But this way only the first step and quite a simple one too, for the imposition of control on the prices of the grain was not a correct solution. The real measure would have been to supply the grain regularly in the market.

For this purpose he built huge granaries in the capital and other towns and filled them with grain. People were not allowed to purchase more grain than was needed for their actual consumption, nor were they allowed to store it with them. After harvesting the peasants kept only that much of grain with them which was sufficient for their personal consumption and sold the rest to the agents appointed by the government. Moreover, the peasants were encouraged to carry their produce to the market and sell it themselves. The officers in the Doab (the most fertile province of the empire) had to furnish guarantees in writing by which they undertook not to permit anyone to hoard up grain. The names of all the corn carriers were registered with the government and they were settled on the banks of Jumna. These corn carriers had to carry the grain from one part of the country to the other. If any one of them was idle or dishonest then the whole community was held responsible collectively for this lapse. In addition to this the government appointed inspectors whose duty was to keep an eye on the working of this system. In case a person was found deviating from

this routine, he was to be punished by these inspectors. The Sultan had introduced very severe punishment for this sort of crimes.

All other measures apart the most effective step taken by the Sultan in this respect was the collection of taxes in kind. The result produced by it was the regular flow of grain into the government granaries and markets. Now the government held total monopoly of grain and was the biggest stockist in this respect. This fully solved the problem of sufficient supply of grain to the consumers.

Forestalling or regrating of corn was penalised. No merchant was allowed to withhold a single 'Man' of grain and any attempt to sell at an enhanced price even by so much as 'Dang' or 'Dirham' was severely punished. The merchants of all parts of the empire had to get themselves registered in a 'Daftar' and were placed in charge in the 'Shahna-i-Mandi'.

It must be remembered that while no man was allowed to keep a stock of grain in excess of his need and no shopkeeper was allowed to sell to any man more than actually needed by him. It was made binding on the shopkeepers and the Superintendents of the Markets that they supplied the required quantity of grain to all the consumers without any hitch and unnecessary waste of time. The sultan did not want that the old and the ill, the weak or young should face and difficulty in the procurement of grain. If any such case was reported both the shopkeeper and the official responsible for checking the situation were punished.

Barani remarks on the working of the system that even in times of drought no scarcity of grain was felt. Once or twice in times of drought when the 'Shahna-i-Mandi' petitioned to the Sultan that the price of grain might be enhanced by one or a half 'Jital', he received 20 blows with the stick.

When the rains were deficient, a quantity of grain sufficient for the maintenance of the people was given to the 'Baqqals' (corn dealer) of every 'Muhalla' (parish) from the royal granaries and more than half a 'Man' was not sold to any purchaser. Similar the great and esteemed people who had no villages or land were supplied grain from the market.

The market was superintended by two officers—the Controller of the Diwan-i-Riyasat and the Shahna-i-Mandi. These two officers performed their duties with honesty and regularity.

The imported items were also controlled, so that people should not purchase them in large quantity considering them cheap. Such things were supplied only to those who got permits from the Superintendent of the Markets. This device was adopted to prevent merchants from buying articles in the market at cheap rates and then so selling them at higher rates in the country, or smuggle them to the foreign countries.

The cattle market was also controlled, and the prices of cattle fell considerably. A milch cow could be had for three or four Tankahs and a she-goat for ten or twelve Jitals.

One useful reform of the Sultan was the suppression of roguery of the brokers in the market. They were in the habit of asking bribes both from the buyer and the seller and by their disorderly conduct created much trouble and confusion. Their leaders who were dishonest, cunning, lawless and addicted to gambling, were expelled from the market and punished severely.

The punishment for the violation of the tariff laws were exceptionally severe. The market people sold their goods according to the established rates, but they cheated the purchasers in the weight especially ignorant people and children. When the Sultan turned his attention to the subject, he discovered that the market people, as usual, were acting dishonestly. He, therefore, used to send for some of the poor ignorant boys, who attended to his pigeon houses, and to give them ten or twenty dirhems to go to the market and buy such things as bread, roasted meat, reori, halwa, yakhni, melons, cucumber and so on. And when they came back, the articles which they brought were weighed. If they weighed less, the sellers were punished. At the outset, the Sultan wished to avoid severe punishments, but the shopkeepers would not abandon their practice of giving short weights, until at last a rule was made that, on detection, the deficiency should be cut from the seller's person; and the fear of punishment proved sufficient to put a stop to fraud.

The Sultan was forced to take this step. In the beginning the punishment for weighing less was cane strokes. But the Hindu 'Banias' who instinctively weighed less and used false weights could not be dissuaded from the practice. They did not consider it a bad bargain to receive a few strokes of the cane in return for some Jitals earned in a dishonest manner. It was this attitude which forced the Sultan to adopt

these strict measures for which he has been regarded as inhuman by some of the historians. But history is a witness to this fact that the Hindu 'Bania' corrected his weights and measures for the first and the last time during the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The vendors were quite frequently kicked out from their shops for dishonest dealings. The result of all this was that the bazar people became quite submissive and ceased to practice deceit and often gave more than the fixed quantity.

Diwan-i-Riyasat made it compulsory for the shopkeepers to keep the iron weights with official stamp on them.

The success of this system mainly depended upon the fact that it was introduced after giving it a proper consideration from every angle by the Sultan and his ministers and nobles. In the words of Zia-ud-Din Barani everyone of these ministers and councillors was another Asaf Burkhia or Buzur Jemehr. Evidently whatever was recommended by them could have no defect in it. And so this system is a proof of its soundness. The second important reason which added to the successful running of this system was the person of the Sultan himself. His ability, his love of justice, his courage and his sincerity of purpose influenced all, high or low, and made them cooperate with him in the carrying out of his plans.

By now masses were fully convinced that this whole system was for their good and if they had to sell their own articles at cheap rates they were able to purchase the other necessities of life at equally cheap rates. This conviction removed from their hearts the very desire to hoard and to sell it at high rates. Such anti-social steps were of no avail now. This new system of price control was so complete and successful that if a man purchased a thing at a certain price he could sell it exactly at the same price even after a lapse of two or three years. There was no fear of the fluctuation in prices and consequently no greed that is born of this fluctuation. The masses were happy and they happily cooperated with their Sultan.

It is said that the Sultan had honest and efficient officers, who made this system successful. We know that he did not inherit this trained and efficient staff. We also know that there were no such academies during the periods of Sultan Kaikubad and Sultan Jalal-ud-Din Firuz Khalji, where the government officials were trained. The fact is that the whole staff of the Sultan received the required training

from the Sultan himself. His personal ability, his love of justice, his honesty and efficiency cost their influence on his officers and made them efficient and hard working.

It is said by some that since money had grown scarce in the country, blackmarketing and hoarding were discouraged. The common people were mostly without money in their possession and even the nobles were not in a very enviable position in this respect. And this condition of extreme poverty led to the success of this system.

But the facts proved the falsehood of all such theories. There was peace inside the country and there was no fear of outside invaders. The peasants were safe from the greedy hands of the Muqaddams, Chaudhries and Khuts who previously had been eating up the economic resources of the country like moth. With the end of their unjust privileges the country was steeped in the light of progress and prosperity. The cultivated area increased. The trade with overseas country touched a new height after the conquest of places like Gujarat. There was formidable standing army. In addition to all this the Public Works Department was busy in constructing an endless number of forts, mosques, palaces, inns and public dispensaries. These activities brought unemployment in the country almost to an end. Although there was some rise in revenue, yet this increase was not such as would create unnecessary difficulties for the common man. At the same time we must not forget that since the Sultan had managed to bring down the prices of the essential commodities, in proportion the common man gained tremendously. There was greater prosperity and security than there ever have been before, which means the purchasing power of the people had increased.

Now we take up the case of the nobles, who, are, in every period of the history, richer than the rest of the people. The end of Jalali nobles gave rise to a new nobility. The member of this new circle received gold in 'Mans' (maunds) and ready money in lacs of Tankahs. They were given villages to keep them as their jagirs. These nobles were so rich that they themselves shower lacs on others at their pleasure. This also is a recorded fact that the gold which malik Kafur, brought from the Deccan and the South was distributed generously by the Sultan among his faithful followers, the nobles, the scholars and the soldiers.

After knowing all this it would be foolish to contend that the success of the new system was due to the lack of money in the hands

of the common people. Barani was the author of this unfounded theory which was accepted by some of the modern scholars, but the above facts go a long way to prove the intentions here were not kind.

Barani says that the people of that time considered the success of this price control system as something miraculous, especially as there were no developed means of communication and transportation and feelings of nationalism were also absent. On the contrary the various groups in the country had no unity among them, and the majority of the subjects were Hindus who were deady opposed to their Muslim rulers. In these circumstances, it was indeed miraculous for the system of embrace success continuously for quite a long period.

This was an unusual experiment of its kind, unique for its complete success in the whole range of human history. Neither before nor after Ala-ud-Din's period could such a success be achieved by anybody in this respect. Today in almost every country of the world, price control system had been introduced, but no government, howsoever strong can guarantee the maintenance of the prices at the same uniform level year after year.

The price control system is so much liked by Barani that he advises every king to consider the low price of the means of people's livelihood to be the basis of their good management of their country and of their administration of justice. Because in the cheapness of the requisites of the army and the people's livelihood there are many religious and worldly advantages conducive to the well-being of both the king and the subjects.

He further says:

"Regrating and selling at high prices are social sin they do not belong to the category of sins against the self as their harm effects other. Both by the order and the efforts of the king, they can be suppressed. The Divine reward rendering this service is not concealed from the wise."

The low prices of the essential commodities and the consequent prosperity enjoyed by the people became proverbial afterward, Amir Khusrau, Isami, Afif, Barani, all support this fact. Raja Hamid Qalandar quotes, Hazrat Nasir-ud-Din Shah Chiragh Delhvi as saying that Sultan Ala-ud-Din gave so much peace, security and prosperity that people started regarding all that he said or did as ordained by the Almighty himself. They had learnt to take him as Holy Saint. After this death people would go to his tomb for getting their wishes fulfilled.

Can there be imagine better ways of judging the success of the various experiments?

If we compare the present day soldier with the Alai soldier, we will have to admit that the latter was in a much better condition. He got equivalent of twenty rupees as his salary and rations but he got wheat at a rate of less than five annas per maund (forty seers). Today's soldier is paid about forty rupees a month but he had to pay rupees twenty for one maund of wheat flour and Rs. six for one seer of Ghee. We can know from this as to how happy and prosperous must have been the Alai soldier and how dignified his life.

By these methods Ala-ud-Din put to an end the greatest social evil which is hunger among the masses. Hungry masses are never faithful to their rulers. Instead of giving cooperation they became potential danger for the life of the king as well as his kingdom. But Ala-ud-Din had succeeded so well in keeping down the prices that hunger was eliminated and people turned devoted to the Sultan.

According to Barani, Sultan Ala-ud-Din was upset by the repeated invasions of the Mughals which paralysed all constructive work in the country, crippled trade and commerce, kept his people in awe and thwarted his programme of imperial expansion. His councillors whom he consulted in this matter agreed with Ala-ud-Din that the creation of a large standing army was essential if the Mughals were to be kept off this country and if that army was to be paid in cash the salaries had to be lowered.

The idea of a large and standing army on a low scale of pay which had entered and taken possession of the king's mind, could never be realised, they asserted, unless the price of the horses and the arms and other equipments of the army (the commodities necessary for men and their women and children) be greatly reduced—and made as cheap as water. Ala-ud-Din thought over it but told his officers that the enforcement of price control would mean resorting to killing cruelty, terrorism and unlimited punishments. The officers admitted that strong measures would certainly be necessary but there was no other alternative if the measures were to succeed. Ala-ud-Din thus, according to Barani, had full official support for his proposed legislation but he was actuated by military urgency and not philanthropist motive.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din had a standing army of 4,75,000 soldiers at the time of his zenith. Paying an individual 234 tankahs annually he

had to provide about 11 crore tankahs for this purpose. Now we can judge for ourselves that this total amount was not so great as to make it essential for the Sultan to impose the price control system.

It is very obvious from this recorded facts that the aim of this price control system was neither military urgency nor the poor condition of the government treasury but something higher and nobler. Let us see what was the real object before the Sultan that he took this step.

There are two writers, who take a different view. According to them price control was introduced along with state procurement of articles of use and control of consumption of the same because of the anxiety which Ala-ud-Din felt about the hardships which common man had to face because of non-availability of commodities or of prohibitive prices in the market.

According to Isami the Sultan's attention was drawn to the acute hardships suffered by his subjects because of famine while he enjoyed himself in his palace. The Sultan felt ashamed and immediately decided to renounce wine and ordered that grain should be distributed from the royal granaries, that prices be fixed at the former level and the hoarders punished.

The above is corroborated by the testimony of Hamid Qalandar the compiler of *Khair-ul-Majalis*.

"When Ala-ud-Din had just inaugurated his economic regulations for the reduction of prices, one of his high officers Qazi Hamid Multani whom Barani very unjustly abuses paid a visit to Oudh. A great dinner was given in his honour and when the mass of the guest had retired, the Qazi related the following anecdote to a small circle of friends one of whom was the famous mystic Shaikh Nasir-ud-Din Shah Chiragh Dehlvi."

"Qazi Hamid Multani entering the royal chamber one day found Ala-ud-Din in a state of complete mental collapse. He was sitting on a low stool supporting his head, on one of his hands; his turban had fallen down he seemed to be unconscious of the things around him and he took no notice of the visitor. Qazi Hamid got frightened; he came out silently and informed Malik Qara Beg, another highly trusted officer. The two then entered the Sultan's room in considerable perplexity. Qara Beg addressed Ala-ud-Din in a low voice. Is the Sultan of Islam not well? Ala-ud-Din opened his eyes like one awakening from a trance. His statement as reported to us as ran, as follows:

"A deep thought has been perplexing me for a long time and I have found a solution just now. There are thousands of persons better than me in his country and yet God in His kindness has been pleased to put me over the head of all. How can I prove myself worthy of this divine favour by serving all the people of God? If I distribute my treasures among the needy, the services rendered will be negligible. If I order all government properties and land to be distributed to the poor they will not suffice for the purpose. Just now I have discovered a plan. There are in my dominion Naiks who have 10,000 or 20,000 beasts of burden. I will arrange with them for the constant flow of corn into the city (Delhi) so that its price is reduced. Then all the people of God will be benefited."

Isami completed his book *Fatuh-us-Salatin* in 750-51 A.H. and *Khair-ul-Majalis* was completed in 755-56 A.H. Barani wrote his book *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* seven or eight years after Isami's *Fatuh-us-Salatin*, somewhere in 758-59 A.H. Like Barani, Isami and Hamid Qalandar are also contemporary historian. Sultan Ala-ud-Din died in 716 A.H. All three books written by the contemporary historian were completed in the same decade about forty years after the death of the Sultan though they were written by different people residing at different places. It would appear greatly unjust unreasonable accept Barani and ignore the other two. The other two books too were written many years after the death of the Sultan, so we can say it for certain that facts mentioned in these books were not twisted under fear of punishment or hope of reward. On the contrary, Barani is so self contradictory that he cannot be placed higher than the other two for an authentic treatment of facts.

So the conclusion is that all the reforms introduced by Sultan Ala-ud-Din were for the betterment of the lot of his people. His only aim in life was to achieve the pleasure of God and he decided that he could succeed therein only by serving the creation of God. We have to acknowledge that his approach was correct and we also know that nothing great can be done by any mortal unless there is a passion behind it, a passion that knows no compromise. His good intentions must have pleased God who granted him an unparalleled success in his mission.

If at all, we agree with Barani that whatever Sultan Ala-ud-Din did was the demand of the military urgency which was created by threat of Mughal invasions, even then his achievement remains great.

The ultimate conclusion is that the price control system brought down the prices of the essential commodities so low that nobody was left in want. People were prosperous and happy. For this achievement his Maulana Shams-ud-Din. Turk allots him a place in the ranks of the prophets on the day of judgement.

Ala-ud-Din's measures had full support of his subjects is testified that by numerous complementary referred in the Mulfoozat, of the period. Long after Ala-ud-Din's death people look to his reign when articles of daily use were to be had in plenty and at moderate prices. There could be no greater testimony to the value of his work and the public appreciation of the same than the fact recorded in the Malfoozat that Ala-ud-Din's tomb became a place of pilgrimage people in distress went to his tomb and tied threads there and sought his benedictions. The 'tyrant' of Barani lost his terror and people remembered only the good that he had done them during his life time.

Ala-ud-Din presents the spectacle of a medieval king strutting about in almost modern trappings. Though the idea of a ruler exercising 'sovereign' authority in his state must have been foreign to his age, Ala-ud-Din did exercise what would today be described as sovereign authority. Custom tradition and religion effectively assigned to all individuals their specific sphere of action. The rulers were no exception. His predecessor on the throne of Delhi, Jalal-ud-Din Firuz, would not have dared to claim any special privileges for the king. Ala-ud-Din was made of sterner stuff.

He had treacherously murdered his uncle, benefactor and king in order to ascend the throne. When once he had seated himself there, he soon discovered that there were others who, whether inspired by his example or otherwise, were anxious to play the game he had made so profitable. He was driven to devise methods for preventing successful rebellion. When the Mongols camped in Delhi his anxiety became all the greater. He decided upon so completing his measures as to make him safe both against internal rebellion as well as foreign enemies.

Barani records that every time Ala-ud-Din embarked upon a campaign of controlling the activities of his subjects, he called his advisers together. It has even been suggested that Ala-ud-Din was merely a tool in the hands of others in these matters and that he contributed nothing to these discussions himself. The first 'conference' was followed by the imposition of such a harsh regime on the 'nobles',

that they could have hardly inspired its decisions. Howsoever, welcome the humiliation of nobles may have been to the theologians, it is difficult to believe that they could have been instrumental in devising such uncannical, such 'unlawful' measure. Hindus were the main targets of his policy; they could not have given him advice against themselves. It is, thus, difficult to imagine who these 'conferees' could have been to lead Ala-ud-Din to this novel path. Theologians could certainly have inspired a campaign against drinking but these regulations were not confined to matters of prohibition alone. Yahya suggests quite a different reason for Ala-ud-Din's embarking upon a policy of prohibition. He is said to have executed one of his bosom friends one evening. The order was issued when Ala-ud-Din was drunk. He discovered his mistake next morning had gave up drinking himself and imposed prohibition on his subjects. It is interesting to note that contemporary records do not give even a single name of these advisers. It may well be questioned whether they really existed at all. It may be more correct to hold that, pressing upon most classes of his subjects as these measures did, they may have been more the results of Ala-ud-Din's own 'inventiveness' than inspired by unknown advisers.

When all his regulations were in force they aimed at controlling the social life and economic activities of the larger section of his subjects. It has been suggested that the measures controlling economic activities were confined to the capital alone. The contemporary accounts and later compilation do not however bear this out. It seems more probable that there was no distinction made between the capital and the rest of the Khilji territories. Of course, his regulation could apply only to the settled territories directly governed by his own administrators.

The first set of regulations controlled social life, ostensiny of the 'nobility'. They were forbidden to extend or accept hospitality from one another. No matrimonial alliances could be made without obtaining royal permission. Manufacture, transport, sale and taking of intoxicants were prohibited. Ala-ud-Din himself set an example to usher in the new dispensation.

- The entire royal stock of wines and liquors was publicly destroyed, drinking vessels followed suit. When stills were installed in private houses or wine transported from elsewhere in secret, the Sultan always managed to 'receive information' and his officers acting on it made a public example of the offenders. But 'drinking' had

become too serious an affliction to the 'higher' classes of society to be easily shaken off. Imprisonment, flogging and heavy fines failed to cure either the offenders or the panderers to this vice. It was finally decided that private manufacture for personal use in the privacy of one's home was permissible but neither its sale nor its use in public or in parties was to be allowed.

Either along with the enforcement of prohibition or separately another set of orders was issued. All 'grants' of land are said to have been resumed. This included grants made to theologians, scholars and pious men. Jagirs held by the public servants and army officers and other ranks are also supposed to have been all resumed. But jagirs continued to be granted here after under Ala-ud-Din. One of the complaints against Muhammad Tughlaq is that he resumed the jagirs of the descendents of those who had been originally granted jagirs by Ala-ud-Din. Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq is said to have restored all the Alai jagirs to the descendents of those to whom they had been originally granted. We read of the grants of jagirs to Ala-ud-Din's officers by the emperor. Ala-ud-Din may have preferred payment of official salaries in cash. But to assert that he assumed all the jagirs granted in lieu of cash salaries seems to be wrong and the assertion is not supported by contemporary authorities. He resumed 'Inam, Malik and Waqf' grants. These were all rent-free holdings held without any obligation of public service attached to them. There is nothing to indicate that assignment of land revenue in place of payment of cash salaries was discontinued.

The wording of the order as it has come down to us seems to indicate that the classes which had hitherto acted as intermediaries for the collection of land revenue for the State were also dispossessed of whatever 'rights' they had in the land. This is indicated by the fact that Ala-ud-Din is said to have introduced the assessment of land revenue by measurement and collected it in cash at rates fixed per biswa. If the new assessment had been enforced, there would have been no room for such traditional functionaries as Muqaddams and Chaudharies who seem to have been lumped together here as Khuts. But both the suggestions are open to doubt.

The village functionaries, we are told, continued to discharge their public functions, but were not paid for the performance of their official duties in rent free lands. Reading between the lines, it seems that Ala-ud-Din, probably correctly, held that these functionaries were being paid otherwise and their enjoyment of rent free lands was a recent

and unauthorised usurpation. They were compelled to pay land revenue for the land that they held. A percentage of the collection, as at present, seems to have been a more normal method of remunerating them and might have continued. Some 10,000 holders of rent free lands are said to have been reduced to penury as the result of these orders.

In order to secure that all these regulations were successful and the social life of the 'higher' classes was effectively regulated, Ala-ud-Din set up a corps of informer who seem to have acted so effectively that all social intercourse came soon to be stifled. Not a word was said, nor a movement made, without the king's receiving accurate information thereof. To add to the effectiveness of his system, Ala-ud-Din started, it is said, confronting parties concerned with an accurate account of what they might have said to each other. Such effective demonstration soon had its reward. The 'nobles' ceased to have any social life. 'No one' naturally, 'had even the time to pronounce the word rebellion.'

Either the success of these measures or the alleged necessity to paying for a large standing army at a lower scale of expense led to Ala-ud-Din's attempt at controlling all the economic activities of his subjects. As discussion below will show, the salaries were not lowered very much. The salary of a soldier remained substantially what it was before. Barani cites Rs. 234 as the salary of a soldier before Ala-ud-Din is alleged to have lowered it but it remains the same after the so called reduction of salaries as we.

The first step in the new economic policy was fixation of prices. This was accompanied by rationing. The two could not be successful without securing the essential supplies. So Ala-ud-Din set about doing everything that was needed to make his scheme successful.

So far as control of prices was concerned, a very comprehensive list of rates was drawn up. Wheat, barley and rice seem to have been the three foodgrains in common use. Along with them were common pulses lentils, grams and vetch. Their prices were fixed at 5 jitals a maund (of 12 seers) for unhusked rice, grams and vetches, 4 jitals a maund for barely and 7..... jital for a maund of wheat. The second group covered such requirements for the kitchen as oil, ghee, salt, and sugar. The rates for their sale were also laid down. Another group of essential commodities was formed by various types of cloth. Here again a detailed tariff was drawn up covering some nine different kinds of cloth. Then

came cattle. Cows, goats and mules seem to have been in common demand; their prices were also fixed.

Probably to complete the picture, the prices of slaves, handsome boys, serving girls and concubinês were also laid down. That this was thought necessary is an interesting comment on the court culture in medieval India.

Horses were mounts for the army, carries for men and beasts of burden. The last class carried the lowest price; ten pack horses could be bought for one good army mount. Horses were graded in prices which ranged from 10 tankas to 120 tankas. This must have left a very large margin to sellers.

In order to enforce these prices, buying and selling in various commodities were confined to special markets. There was a market for foodgrains, another for cloth and a special market for horses. Buying and selling elsewhere were prohibited.

Prices could be artificially manipulated by short measure. Weights and measures were therefore fixed and selling short was made a very serious crime.

Prices could not be maintained long if the supplies fell short. Arrangements were made therefore to keep everyone of the commodities controlled in sufficient supply. Corn and foodstuffs formed the first essential commodity. The Doab formed the main field of supply for the capital and its suburbs. It was decided to levy land revenue in kind in place of cash in the Doab. How cash demands were converted into demands in kind has not been explained by contemporary writers. It is, however, reasonable to assume that in this area assessment in cash may have been entirely given up and one half of the produce accepted as land revenue in kind. This 'collection' was stored in huge granaries and formed to reserve. The second source tapped again arose as the result of the activities of the collectors in areas where land revenue was collected in cash.

The collectors almost became purchasing agents for the government. They insisted on prompt payment of land revenue in cash. Naturally, the cultivators were obliged to sell their produce under pressure. Now the purchasers nearest at hand were the registered corn merchants bound to keep the corn market in good supply at proper prices. They would naturally offer the cultivators a price which would keep them going. As in the recent experiment in rationing and price

control in India, the price for procurement was naturally lower than the selling price. But as this was the only price obtainable the cultivator was bound to accept it. There were no other buyers and hence not chance of securing cash for payment of land revenue in any other way.

The corn merchants and collectors of revenue between them kept the markets well stocked. The huge stock the government built up were released to keep down the prices when they threatened to shoot up on account of scarcity. The government stocks acted as the guarantors of prices.

The cloth market required to be supplied differently. Here supplies were of two types, cloth in common use and fine cloth. The first variety of cloth was sold unrationed at controlled prices; the distribution of the fine variety was regulated by permits issued to persons of substance for personal needs proved to the satisfaction of the issuing authorities. Here the object was to prevent resale at a profit. merchants from Multan seem to have specialised in cloth trade. They were entrusted with the duty of keeping the cloth market well stocked. Fine variety of cloth had to be purchased from various places. They were, therefore, given advances for the purpose of purchasing such cloth at various manufacturing centres and keep the central market at Delhi and possibly some other markets outside, in supply. It has been suggested, but wrongly, that these merchants were put to great loss, if not greater inconvenience, as they were compelled to purchase cloth at prevailing rates and sell it at a loss. There is nothing to indicate that this was so. Fine cloth only was controlled by permits. There is no reason to believe that Ala-ud-Din was so much interested in the supply of finery to his public servants as to fix very low prices for it. If anything, all indications are to the contrary.

Cloth and corn both had to be transported. It seems that means of transport were also registered and their tariff controlled.

Horses formed a very important 'commodity'. Ala-ud-Din abolished profiteering by middlemen in this trade. The horse breeders could sell them to users only. All speculative traffic in horses was straightway abolished. All sales were to be affected in the market places. It is impossible to believe that horses were permitted to be sold in the horse market at Delhi alone. Direct dealings between horse breeders and users seem to have been permitted outside the capital.

Afif has suggested that Ala-ud-Din gave very large amounts of money to merchants and gave them allowances in order to help them in making his policy successful.

To make this huge superstructure stand firmly a large number of civil servants was needed. Al-ud-Din appointed the requisite number under a Superintendent of Markets. He was given the necessary staff, consisting of agents, messenger boys, mounted soldiers and clerks. Three separate reports of prevailing prices were submitted to the emperor by the superintendent of markets, by collectors of sales tax and by informers. Surprise checks of transactions were made, it is said, several times a day. Sometimes bogus purchasers, masquerading as ignorant boys or rustics, were sent to the market to tempt the merchants to take advantage of their apparent ignorance and thus overcharge them or give them short measure. If they succumbed to the temptation they were severely punished for their crime. It was the duty of the superintendent of markets to maintain supplies and secure that all the regulations were strictly observed. His failures or the failures of his subordinates were severely punished.

Ala-ud-Din's system of assessment and collection of land revenue was as much as an essay in public finance as in controlling the peasantry. The state demand was fixed at one half of the gross produce to be paid in cash at so much per Biswa. The medieval chroniclers were not administrators and understood the intricacy of assessment and collection of land revenue as little as men of letters do today. When Akbar levied land revenue in cash, he had to make a series of experiments. He did ultimately devise a system where cash rates were made applicable to cropped area every season. But these rates varied with crops. Ala-ud-Din seems to have levied cash rates fixed by measurement without any of those elaborate calculations with which the *Ain-i-Akbari* has made us so familiar. His cash rates seem to have been based on area, rather than cropped area. They do not seem to have varied with the crops. They probably represent what later on came to be called the *Nasq* assessment and what Muslim rulers elsewhere had levied as *Kharaj*. But the half of the gross produce left to the cultivators had to bear the burden of the *jizya*, a grazing tax and a house tax. Now wonder the result was that the cultivator was left to live from hand to mouth. He had no money to spare for anything but the bare necessities of life. He was lucky if he and his family could subsist on what was left to them.

The rate of land revenue and other dues indicate the limits within which the lowering of prices could have taken place. The revenue demand had been fixed in cash at half the purchase price of the total produce. If the new lowered price was half the normal price, the peasant would have had to sell all his produce to pay the land revenue alone. Ala-ud-Din had not intended foregoing either the jizya, the grazing tax or the house tax. He must, therefore, have left a margin for the payment of these dues. Not only that, the peasant must live on his produce. Ala-ud-Din could not have desired that land should go out of cultivation, as it certainly would have been if he had left nothing to the cultivator. Despite the tall talk of the contemporary writers and still taller talk of their modern interpreters, Ala-ud-Din's revenue assessment made it impossible for him to lower prices considerably. The definite statement that he charged land revenue at one half of the gross produce is more reliable than the vague statement that he cheapened necessities of life in order to have an army at a lower cost. The jizya, the grazing tax and the house tax must have taken at least another one-fourth of the share of gross produce left to the cultivator. It would have been hard to live on about one-third of the gross produce left to him if the normal prices had been maintained. Any considerable appreciation of money would have entirely wiped out the peasant's share of the produce and could not be—and was not—attempted. Ala-ud-Din had not much margin to play with prices. If he had lowered them by about 10%, the land revenue would have formed 60% of the entire produce. If we add our conjectural 12½% for house tax, jizya and grazing tax at the increased rates the state demand would have amounted to another 15%, leaving only 25% to the cultivator. Anything less than this would have hardly supported a peasant and his family. Even Ala-ud-Din could not have made it possible for them to live on less. We must hold therefore that there was no substantial lowering of prices of corn at least under Ala-ud-Din. This is borne out by the rates which are said to have prevailed under Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Wheat, barely and gram fetched almost the same price which they did under Ala-ud-Din.

But Ala-ud-Din aimed at creating 'Bai Zari' in the kingdom. There was to be no surplus wealth in hands other than his. Much less was there any scope for spending the surplus wealth. The nobles had been forbidden social intercourse among themselves. The old hereditary revenue collecting classes had seen their remuneration cut considerably

by the resumption of their revenue free lands. The malik, the inam and waqf lands had all been resumed leaving their erstwhile holders to hard work. He ground down the peasant by an abnormally high land revenue accompanied by several other taxes. In the beginning of his reign, he had bought loyalty by showering his gold indiscriminately in all directions. But the moment he felt safe, all the known benefactors of his large heartedness were made to disgorge their ill gotten gains. He tried to render everybody helpless so that there was no time, in the language of the medieval chroniclers, to even utter the word rebellion. His regulation controlled all classes of society in almost all their activities. The Hindus were selected for further humiliation; this was curiously the only art of his policy with which the cannonists—the men of law—were in sympathy. He would not allow them to wear fine clothes, nor ride good horses or live well.

Ala-ud-Din seems to have founded a new class of civil servants. So many of them were there now; 100,000 surveyors and assessors, probably an equally large number of informers, those engaged in more orthodox governmental duties must have formed another large block. He had 87,000 masons and labours. He is supposed to have maintained a large standing army, though for how long we do not know. He expected efficient and honest service from his public servants, if it was not forthcoming woe beside them who were the offenders. His successor released 17,000 imprisoned public servants after his death.

But totalitarian methods as well as totalitarian aims usually fail in the long run because those who undertake them cannot always provide for keeping a watchful eye on the entire population all the time. Ala-ud-Din failed conspicuously here. Towards the end of his reign, he seems to have become almost fatuous. It is not surprising that both power and authority slipped through his fingers. His system must have come to an end much before his own end came. It failed because it could not perpetuate itself. It failed, as it was bound to fail, because it was not founded on anything except fear. It failed, as it was bound to fail, because it was not founded on anything except fear. It failed because it failed to gain any loyal supporters.

6

Tughluq Dynasty

I

The eldest son of a frontier governor, Fakhr-ud-Din Muhammad Jauna Khan, had been brought up as a soldier. Even as a boy he must have distinguished himself in this profession. From his ability as a scholar, when he was in the prime of his life, it is clear that he must have been given the best possible literary education in his boyhood and he must have been a precocious child. The first important office that he held was that of the master of the horse under Khusrav Shah. Fakhr-ud-Din was an extremely ambitious youth who saw the possibility of his reaching the throne of Delhi. To realize this object he set afoot an agitation against Khusrav, his patron who had endeavoured to placate him; and his father. Ghazi Tughluq, seems to have acted simply on the advice and initiative of his more clever and ambitious son. His opportunities came when his father became the Sultan of Delhi in 1320. He was nominated heir apparent and given the title of Ulugh Khan. In 1321, he undertook an expedition to Warangal which failed disastrously. Two years later, he was again sent to reduce Prataprudra Deva to submission. This time he succeeded in defeating the ruler of Warangal and bringing him a prisoner to Delhi. Early in 1325, he brought about his father's death probably because he would not wait but wanted to anticipate the course of nature. Four years before that date he had believed in the rumours of his father's death and had almost carried out his accession. These facts show beyond doubt that he was an over-ambitious and unscrupulous youth. He believed in his ability and wisdom and thought that he would do better as a ruler than any of his predecessors.

After Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq's death in February or March 1325,

Ulugh Khan set upon the throne under the title of Muhammad Tughluq. For forty he remained at Tughluqbad, after which he marched in state to the city of Delhi and took his seat on the throne in the Red Palace of Balban. The capital city was well decorated for his reception. The king threw gold and silver coins among the populace. His accession was well received by the people and there was no revolution and no opposition. People seem to have expected great things from him and he, too, seems to have been confident of doing better than the previous Sultans of Delhi.

Revenue Reforms, 1326-27

Muhammad was a diligent ruler. Soon after his accession he issued numerous ordinances for the improvement of the administration of revenue. The first ordinance was for the compilation of a register of the revenue and expenditure of the provinces of his kingdom. He directed the governors of the provinces to send to the capital all relevant records and other materials for its compilation. Summaries of income and expenditure came to Delhi from distant parts of the empire, like the Dakhin, Bengal and Gujarat, and the work proceeded smoothly. The Sultan seems to have undertaken this labour in order to introduce a uniform standard of land revenue and to see that no village remained unassessed.

Taxation in the Doab

His next measure was to increase taxation in the Doab with a view to augment his resources. Probably, he wanted raise the revenue by five to ten per cent, not by increasing the land tax but by certain other taxes. Probably, these taxes were the house tax and the grazing tax. We are told by a later, though standard authority that in order to realize these taxes the houses of the people in the rural areas were numbered and their cattle were branded. He attempted to realize the land revenue and the newly imposed taxes with rigour. Unfortunately, when the policy of additional taxation was enforced in the Doab, there occurred a famine owing to the failure of rains. The people offered resistance. The Sultan's officers continued realizing the taxes. The cultivators had, therefore, to abandon their lands and take to highway robbery. Muhammad-bin-Tughluq made an attempt to help the cultivators by giving them loans to buy seed, bullocks, etc., and making arrangements for the digging of wells for irrigation, but the policy failed. In the first place, it was too late to have introduced the grant of

loans. Secondly, as people had nothing to eat they utilized the loans for purposes different from those for which they were intended. Thirdly, the house and grazing taxes had been unpopular since they were introduced by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. As they had been allowed to fall into disuse under Ala-ud-Din's successors their revival by Muhammad was very much resented. The Sultan got no extra revenue. In fact, even the usual revenue could not be realized from the Doab. Worst of it all, the Sultan himself became thoroughly unpopular with the subjects.

Creation of Agriculture Department

The next experiment of Muhammad Tughluq was the creation of the department of agriculture. It was called Diwan-i-Kohi. The main object of this department was to bring the uncultivated land under cultivation by giving direct financial support from the state treasury. A large tract of land, sixty miles square in area, was first chosen for this purpose. The land was cultivated and different crops in rotation were sown. The government spent over seventy lakhs on the scheme in two years' time. The land was distributed among those who were in the need of it and a large staff of officers and guards was appointed to look after it. But the experiment failed for several reasons. Firstly, the piece of land chosen for the experiment was not fertile. Secondly, the experiment was altogether new with no precedent and, therefore, required great attention from the Sultan himself which he could not give. Thirdly, three years were inadequate to yield any tangible result. Fourthly, the money earmarked for the purpose was badly spent; part of it was misappropriated by corrupt officials and a part was spent by the people on their personal needs. The experiment, which was one of the best in the history of the revenue administration in the country, had, therefore, to be abandoned.

Transfer of the Capital, 1326-27

An important political experiment of Muhammad was the transfer of the capital from Delhi Devagiri which was renamed Daulatabad. Several reasons led to this fateful decision. The first was that the Sultan was anxious to have a capital which should not only be situated at a strategic place but should also be in the centre of his far-flung kingdom. Muhammad was impressed by Devagiri, and we are told by Barani that the geographical importance of the place was one of the reasons for its selection as the metropolis. As he writes: "This place held a central situation; Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Telang,

Malabar, Dwarasamudra and Kampil were about equidistant from thence..." Secondly, Delhi was too near the north-western frontier which was constantly threatened by Mongol raids, while the Sultan wanted the new capital to be at a safe distance from the invaders from the north-west. Thirdly, while northern India had almost been conquered and specified, the Dakhin was a new and uneasy partner in the Sultanate. It could be effectively subdued and managed by a government that had its headquarters in southern India. Lastly, he must surely have felt that southern India was so rich and that he would be able to utilize its resources more easily and effectively by an intimate contact with it. Ibn Battuta gives another reason, namely, that Muhammad was disgusted with the citizens of Delhi who had written anonymous letters full of abuse and he undertook the transfer of the capital in order to punish them. Curiously enough, this tale has been accepted by a historian like Woolseley Haig. It is impossible to imagine that so serious a measure could have been decided on so frivolous a ground.

Having decided the measure, Muhammad ordered the transfer of the capital and also the people of Delhi, men, women and children to Daulatabad with all their belongings. The people would not like to leave Delhi to which they had been endeared by long association; but Muhammad was bent upon taking all the inhabitants with him. Ibn Battuta tells us that he caused a search to be made and a blind man and a cripple were found in the city, unwilling to leave. It is said that the cripple was put to death, while the blind man was ordered to be dragged to Daulatabad with the result that only one of his legs reached the new capital. The Sultan had a look over the deserted town from his palace and was satisfied to see, that there came no smoke from the chimney or the kitchen of a single house. These stories are nothing more than bazar gossip.

The Sultan made commendable arrangements for the comfort of the people during their journey from Delhi to Daulatabad. It is said, temporary huts were set up along the seven hundred mile road and free food and drink were supplied. Shady trees were also said to have been planted; but these could have hardly afforded any shelter to the travellers, for they could not have grown up in such a short time. The people suffered tremendously from fatigue, privation and mental agony. Many of them died on the way and many after reaching their destination.

The scheme was a complete failure, not because the transfer of

the capital was undesirable, without precedent and should not have been undertaken, but because the Sultan failed to see that the only desirable thing to do was to shift the court. Courtiers, officers and big merchants and traders would themselves have sooner or later accompanied the court to Daulatabad. It was unnecessary to order the transfer of the whole population bag and baggage. Secondly, the Sultan did not realize that people would not abandon their homes and hearths except in extreme and unavoidable circumstances. The people of Delhi, who loved their city as their ancestral abode, were no exception to this rule. Thirdly, the Muslim population of Delhi was unwilling to live in Hindu surroundings in the Dakhin. Fourthly, Delhi was without doubt, a better place for the capital of India than Daulatabad which could not have successfully controlled distant provinces like Bengal or the Punjab. Above all, it was very difficult, if not impossible, for the government to resist the Mongols and protect the North-Western frontier of the country from their attacks from Daulatabad. Hence, Muhammad committed a two-fold mistake namely wrong choice of the place and wrong method of bringing about the transfer.

In fairness to the Sultan, it must be added that as soon as he saw that the scheme had failed, he ordered the people to return from Daulatabad to their homes in Delhi. But Daulatabad now became a deserted town, while Delhi was only partially repopulated. It did not regain its former prosperity for years to come.

The Token Currency, 1329-30

The reign of Muhammad Tughluq is an important landmark in the history of Indian coinage. He has been called 'a prince of moneyers'. He reformed the entire system of coinage, fixed the relative values of the precious metals and issued various types of coins. Most of these coins were noted for their artistic design and execution. His most notable experiment in the field was the introduction of token currency. There were several reasons for introducing brass and copper coinage. Firstly, there was the want of precious money in the treasury which had been drained by wars and rebellions and also by costly experiments in the field of administration. Secondly, owing to famine and harsh taxation policy in the Doab, there was a considerable fall in the Sultan's revenue. Thirdly, he was anxious to augment his revenues in order to undertake the conquest of the distant provinces of India and of some foreign countries. Fourthly, Muhammad was fond of experimentation

and therefore, wanted to open a new chapter in the history of coinage in India. Fifthly, he was encouraged by the examples of Chinese and Persian rulers before him who had introduced token currency in their countries in the thirteenth century.

With the above object in view, Muhammad promulgated an order making copper coins the legal tender and putting these coins on par (in value) with gold and silver coins. He ordered that the people should use these coins in all transactions just like gold and silver coins; but he took no steps to make the mint the monopoly of the state. Those days, in make and design and in execution and finish, the coins turned out by the royal mints were not such that they could not be easily imitated by private persons. And as the Sultan made no arrangement for preventing the circulation of counterfeit coins, private persons began to manufacture copper coins. Barani says in right orthodox Muslim fashion that the house of every Hindu became a mint. There is no reason to believe that Musalmans resisted the temptation to which, according to Barani the Hindus succumbed. People hoarded gold and silver coins and paid their revenues in the new ones. Foreign merchants purchased Indian commodities with the token currency in the country, but refused to accept the latter while selling foreign products. Trade came to a standstill. Business was very much hampered, and gold and silver became scarce. The result was a great confusion and the Sultan was bewildered to see his scheme crumbling down before his very eyes. He was compelled to withdraw the token currency and to order the people to take from the royal treasury gold and silver pieces in exchange for brass and copper coins. The State was thus defrauded, while private people made huge profits at its expense.

The failure of the scheme was due not so much to the backwardness of the people and their prejudice and ignorance (though they failed to appreciate it), as to the failure on the part of the Sultan to prevent the manufacture of counterfeit coins by private individuals and their circulation in the market. It was a mistake on the part of Muhammad to have failed to appreciate the limitation and circumstances of the age. He must be, therefore, primarily held responsible for the failure of the scheme.

Policy Towards Church

With the example of Ala-ud-Din before him, Muhammad ignored the shariat (Canon law) whenever he thought it necessary and desired

"to base his political conduct on reason." He felt that in administrative and political matters secular considerations should ordinarily prevail. This brought him into clash with the ulema who had all through, except during the reign of Ala-ud-Din, influenced the state's policy. But the Sultan did not really intend to defy the shariat. He consulted theologians on all important matters, but accepted their advice only when it appealed to reason and expediency. He deprived the theologians of the monopoly of administration of justice. He overruled the judgement of the qazis whenever he found it defective. He appointed some non-theologians to judicial posts. Whenever the ulema were found guilty of rebellion, sedition or embezzlement of religious funds, the Sultan inflicted upon them severe punishments. Shaikhs and Sayyids were not immune from the rule of law. The result of the policy was that domination of the ulema in political and administrative affairs of the State was minimized. But this earned for the Sultan great unpopularity with Muslim divines.

Like Balban, Muhammad believed that the Sultan was the "Shadow of God". His coins bore the inscription, "Al Sultan Zilli Allah" (Sultan, the shadow of God). Through his coins he endeavoured to convey to the people the importance of the king's majesty. On some of his coins we come across verses like: "Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, but is placed on the elect. He who obeys the Sultan truly obeys God." "The Sultan is the shadow of God," and "God is the supporter of the Sultan." He dropped all reference to the Caliphate, though he did not assume the title of Khalifa.

In spite of his justice, generosity and personal ability, the Sultan found that he was getting more and more unpopular. Thinking that the disaffection of the people (Muslims) might be due to his ignoring the Muslim law, he reversed during the later part of the reign his policy towards the Caliphate. He implored the Khalifa of Egypt to confirm him as the Sultan of Delhi. He removed his own name from the coins and inserted that of the Khalifa. All royal orders were issued not in the name of the Sultan, but in that of the Khalifa. In 1340, the Sultan invited the beggarly descendant of the Khalifa of Egypt, named Ghiyas-ud-Din Muhammad, showed him the utmost servility and respect and presented to him extremely costly gifts. But even this did not restore Muhammad's popularity, which caused him great worry, but there was no help.

Muhammad was by nature a man of liberal disposition and broad

outlook on like. He was not much intolerant towards the religion on the vast majority of the subjects. He employed some of them on fairly important posts. The contemporary Muslim historians who have indulged in unqualified praise for the policy of religious persecution of the Hindus by Muhammad's predecessors on the throne to Delhi have no comment to make about this ruler's attitude towards his non-Muslim subjects except to blame him for his generosity.

Foreign Policy

Like Ala-ud-Din, Muhammad Tughluq was ambitious of conquering countries beyond the borders of India. Early during his reign he formed design of conquering Khurasan, Iran and Trans-Oxiana. The Khurasan project was due to the instigation of some Khurasani nobles who had been attracted to the Sultan's court by his lavish generosity. A huge army, numbering three lakhs and seventy thousand men, was collected and was paid one year's salary in advance. But the project could not be undertaken and the army had to be dispersed. It was found that such a huge force could not be maintained for long without unduly straining the resources of the state. It was not an easy affair to cross the huge snowbound mountains that lay between India and Khurasan and to fight the hostile people inhabiting the intervening lands. Moreover, the political condition of Khurasan had taken a turn for the better. So the project was given up.

Conquest of Nagarkot, 1337

The fort of Nagarkot situated on a hill in the Kangra district in the Punjab had defied Turkish army since the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In spite of the conquest of almost the whole of India by Ala-ud-Din Khalji, that fort had remained in the hands of a Hindu prince. In 1337, Muhammad undertook an expedition against it. The raja offered resistance, and the fort could not be taken. It is said that the raja submitted.

Qarajal Expedition, 1337-38

Muhammad was desirous of establishing his authority over the Himalayan states of the Kumaun region which had not so far been reduced to submission. Hence, he led an expedition to Qarajal which was situated in the Kumaun hills at a distance of ten days journey from Delhi. The huge Delhi army attacked the Hindu stronghold, but it suffered greatly owing to the mountainous nature of the country and

heavy rainfall. The Sultan was, therefore, obliged to retire, but he succeeded in compelling the chief to pay him an indemnity. Some modern writers have described the Qarajal expedition as an unsuccessful adventure to conquer China and Western Tibet. This view is incorrect as no contemporary authority has made any mention of Muhammad's desire to conquer China and Tibet.

Relations with China

Muhammad had cordial relations with some of the Asian countries, particularly China. The Chinese emperor, Toghan Timur, sent an envoy to Delhi in 1341 seeking Muhammad's permission to rebuild Buddhist temples in the Himalayan region. These Himalayan temples were demolished by Muhammad's soldiers during his Qarajal expedition. The Sultan sent Ibn Battuta as an envoy to the court of the Mongol emperor of China. Ibn Battuta started in July 1342, and returned in 1347. As regards the temples, Muhammad replied that according to the laws of Islam permission could not be given for their reconstructions unless jiziya was paid.

Mongol Invasion, 1328-29

The north-western frontier of the Sultanate was threatened by a series of Mongol invasions which occurred after Muhammad had ordered the transfer of his capital to Daulatabad. At the head of a powerful army, the Mongol chief, named Tarma Shirin, entered the frontier and ravaged the country from Multan and Lahore to the vicinity of Delhi. The Sultan was taken by surprise. He had neglected the frontier. There was no capable warden of the marches to resist the invaders. It seems that the Mongol chief was bribed and persuaded to retire. This was a very unwise policy. It exposed the weakness of Muhammad's administration and showed that the policy of resistance followed by Balban and Ala-ud-Din was given up.

Rebellions

Muhammad Tughluq's reign was disturbed by numerous rebellions. These may be divided into two categories: (a) early rebellions, and (b) later rebellions.

Early Rebellions

The early rebellions were due not to the failure of Muhammad's domestic policy, but to the ambitious designs of certain important chiefs.

The first rebellion was that of the Sultan's cousin, Bha-ud-Din Gursasp, governor of Sagar near Gulbarga. He was defeated in 1372 and flayed alive. The second rebellion was that of the Hindu chief of Kondhana (modern Singhgarh near Poona). He was defeated and compelled to become a vassal of Delhi. The third rebellion was that of Bahram Aiba of Multan who held besides Multan, Uch and Sindh. He, too, was defeated and put to death.

Later Rebellions

The later rebellions, which were too many, were caused by Sultan's oppressive policy of increasing taxes and by his ruthless punishments inflicted upon the people. Certain others were due to the transfer of capital and the policy of the currency reforms which made Muhammad unpopular and instigated ambitious men to take advantage of his difficulties.

1. In 1355, Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din Ahsan rebelled in Malabar the Eastern coast of Southern India with its capital at Madura. Although Muhammad proceeded in person to Southern India, the rebel could not be put down. Malabar became independent.
2. Amir Hulaju, governor of Lahore, was the next powerful notable to rebel. He was, however, defeated and killed.
3. Malik Hushang, son of the governor of Daulatabad, revolted in 1335-36, but later he submitted and was pardoned.
4. Bengal took advantage of the unpopularity of Muhammad. The Sultan sent an army which defeated and killed Ghiyas-ud-Din of Bengal (1330-1). A little later there occurred a dispute among certain powerful notables in that province. One of them, Ali Mubarak, appealed to Delhi for help, but received none. So he proclaimed himself king of Lakhnauti. That province was, thus, lost to Delhi.
5. The next to rebel was the governor of Kara, named Nizam Main. He was, however, defeated and flayed alive in 1337-8.
6. In 1338-9 came the turn of Nusrat Khan, governor of Bidar. He was defeated, made to submit and deprived of his fief.
7. Ali Shah rebelled at Gulbarga in 1339-40. He was defeated and banished to Ghazni.

8. One of the most formidable rebellions was that of Ain-ul-mulk Multani, governor of Awadh. Ain-ul-mulk was probably one of the topmost living nobles and officers. He had held important offices since the time of Ala-ud-Din Khalji and played a prominent part in the history of his time. He was a highly learned scholar and was well versed in theology and jurisprudence. He subsequently wrote a book, entitled *Munshat-i-Mahru* or *Insha-i-Mahru* which gives a good account of the administration of Firoz Tughluq. He was one of the few important men who could wield their sword and pen with equal facility. He was transferred by Muhammad from Awadh to Daulatabad in 1340-1. Ain-ul-mulk was made to believe that his transfer was a preliminary step towards his destruction. So he revolted. But he was defeated, and taken a prisoner. He was dismissed from his post, and subjected to indignities. But as the Sultan was convinced that he was a half-hearted rebel, he spared his life.
9. Shahu Afghan was another rebel who killed the governor of Multan and occupied the city. Muhammad himself proceeded to punish him. Shahu fled to the hills.
10. The next rebellion occurred in Sultan and Samana. The Sultan undertook an expedition to those places and defeated the chiefs—Jats and Bhatti Rajputs. After this success he brought to Delhi the rebel leaders and forcibly converted them to Islam.

Foundation of Kingdom of Vijayanagar

11. The widespread rebellions gave an opportunity to the Hindus of Southern India to make a bid for their independence. An enterprising Hindu leader, named Harihar, laid the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336. He gave secret support to Krishna Nayak who rebelled against the Sultan of Delhi in 1342-44. This rebellion could not be suppressed and a large part of Southern India passed into the hands of the Hindus.
12. The people of Devagiri rebelled in 1345 owing to the extortions and harsh treatment of the local officers. The historian, Firishta, writes that the people "rebelled in all

quarters and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence."

13. Next in importance came the rebellion of the foreign nobles known as *Amiran-i-Sadah* (Centurions) who had enjoyed certain special privileges. These foreign nobles embezzled money, aided other rebels and took to plunder whenever there was any confusion in the *Dakhin*. Muhammad instructed *Aziz Khummar*, governor of *Malwa*, to punish the foreign nobles. *Aziz* treacherously put to death a number of them. This caused dissatisfaction among the foreign nobles in *Gujarat* who, too, raised the standard of rebellion. They captured *Aziz* and put him to death. Muhammad had to proceed to the scene of action. He defeated the rebels near *Dabohi*. This success enabled him to put down the *Amir-i-Sadah*.
14. The foreign nobles at *Devagiri* became apprehensive of their fate. They rebelled and occupied *Devagiri*. From there the trouble spread to *Berar*, *Khandesh* and *Malwa*. The Sultan had to proceed to *Devagiri* and to put down the rebellion. Meanwhile, there was another rebellion in *Gujarat* and Muhammad had to proceed there. This gave the rebels of *Devagiri* a chance. They repudiated allegiance to *Delhi*, and laid foundation of the *Bahamani* kingdom.
15. The rebellion in *Gujarat* proved to be formidable. The Sultan, however, hunted down the rebel, named *Taghi*, who was compelled to take shelter at *Thatta Sindh*. Muhammad remained in *Gujarat* for three years in order to reorganize the administration of the province and conquer *Girnar*, that is, modern *Junagarh*. After this, he proceeded to *Sindh* to punish *Taghi*, and there he was taken ill. He died on March 20, 1351. In the words of historian, *Badani*. "The king was freed from his people and they from the king."

An Estimate

No character in our medieval history had aroused so much interest and controversy as that of *Muhammad-bin-Tughluq*. Contemporary historians, like *Barani* and *Ibn Battuta*, who came into intimate contact with him, have expressed opposite views about his personality and his virtues and faults. Modern European writers have

passed diametrically opposite judgements on the character and achievements of the Sultan. Elphinstone, for example, expressed doubt "whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity." Havell, Edward Thomas and Smith have dittoed Elphinstone. Gardiner Brown, on the other hand, has painted Muhammad in bright colour and exonerated him from the charges of madness, blood thirstiness and that of being a visionary. We have two monographs on the reign of the Sultan from the pen of two of our scholars. Yet the controversy is not stilled and the subject continues to exercise the minds of writers and thinkers as usual.

As a private gentleman, Muhammad's character leaves nothing to be desired. Endowed with a keen intellect, a marvellous memory and an inordinate thirst for learning, he was a profound scholar of logic, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and the physical sciences, besides Persian literature and poetry. Adept in the art of expression, composition as well as speech, he was also a noted dialectician. He loved calligraphy and fine arts, specially music, was patron of letters and arts, and loved the company of learned men.

Muhammad's personal life was marked by a high standard of morality. He was free from the prevailing vices of the age. By nature he was one of the humblest of men. Both Barani and Ibn Battuta bestow high praise on him for his generosity and tell us that the Sultan was profuse in the distribution of gifts, presents and rewards. He seems to have been an affectionate relation and a good friend as is testified by his fondness for his cousin Firoz, and regard for Barani and other friends. In spite of his charge of irreligiousness, it is clear from a perusal of Ibn Battuta that Muhammad had faith in morality and was devoted to his religion. He was regular and punctilious in the five daily prayers and fasts enjoined by Islam. By habit and inclination Muhammad was diligent. In fact, his application to the details of administration and his perseverance had become proverbial. He was brought up as a soldier. As an experienced general he had fought battles. Historians are unanimous in their praises for his love of military activity.

As was to be expected from a man of his profound learning and wide range of interests, Muhammad was possessed of a liberal disposition and catholicity of taste. In spite of his devotion to Islam, he was not intolerant and appreciated merit in men of diverse faiths and positions in life.

But, when judged as a ruler and administrator, Muhammad must be pronounced a failure. In fact, his achievements, during his long reign of twenty-six years, were negative. He inherited a vast kingdom which embraced not only practically the whole of northern India but also the Dakhin. Before he closed his eyes in death, the Sultanate of Delhi was considerably reduced in size. The Dakhin was lost. Bengal severed its connection. Sindh, too, was slipping away from his grasp when death overtook him. Even in the provinces that still formed part of the Turkish kingdom, rebellion and strife were rife. His experience and reputation as a soldier and general failed him in the hour of his trial. He was out to conquer countries beyond the frontiers of India; he lost a considerable portion of what was his at the time of his accession. Mohammad's ambition was to remodel the administration and to place the revenue administration and the currency system on a scientific basis. One of his cherished desires was to have a capital situated in the center of his dominion. All these projects came to naught. Nay, they caused a considerable reaction and alienated the people beyond measure. Long before his death, he almost confessed his failure, "I visit them (people) with chastisement," he said to the historian Barani "upon the suspicion or presumption of their rebellious and treacherous designs, and I punish the most trifling act of contumacy with death. This I will do until I die, or until the people act honestly, and give up rebellion and contumacy. I have no such Wazir as will make rules to obviate my shedding blood, I punish the people because they have all at once become my enemies and opponents. have dispensed great wealth among them, but they have not become friendly and loyal." What else could this mean except the confession of one who was conscious of his failure?

Some modern writers are of opinion that Muhammad was not responsible for his failure as a ruler; he failed because circumstances were against him, because people were backward and prejudiced and also, because the Muslim ulema turned against him for this policy of setting aside their interference in state affairs and punishing them for going against his orders. There is some point in the above contention; but Muhammad's failure was chiefly due to his limitation and to certain grave defects in his character. He lacked balance, practical judgment and common sense. He was obsessed with theoretical learning and his knowledge was bookish and was not derived from actual experience in life. He was not endowed with the royal gift of judging human

character and lacked the power of inspiring confidence in men and getting on with his colleagues. It was his hobby to propound lofty theories and visionary projects. Seldom did he care to think out his schemes in detail. They were sound on paper, but when reduced to practice, they came to nothing. Muhammad had no patience either with men or with institutions, including his own lofty projects. By character and habits he could not preserve on, but would give up a project without seeing its end.

He was, without doubt, over-hasty. Possessed of a violent temper, he would easily get annoyed. Once angry, he would lose his balance and would never attempt to see the other side of a problem. He had no discrimination in the awarding of punishment and would inflict the penalty of death for a petty crime as well as for a heinous offence. Being sensitive, he imagined that the people were, without reason and in spite of his generosity, against him and so they must be punished. These were, therefore, the main causes of his failure. If the people were backward, he should have attempted like a wise and practical statesman to take them with him in his projected reforms. What was after all the use of introducing schemes which were too ahead of the age and incomprehensible to his subjects for whose benefit they were intended? Generally speaking, circumstances were not against him. When he ascended the throne, he was cordially welcomed by the people; but as he persisted in his wild schemes, such as raising the taxes in the Doab in the midst of a famine, it was but natural for the people to offer resistance. It seems too much to say that he failed because of ill-luck and that he should be styled as an ill-starred monarch.

Elphinstone was the first historian who believed that Muhammad suffered from some degree of insanity. His views have been shared by later European writers. A perusal of the contemporary authority shows that there is nothing in the pages of Barani and Ibn Battuta which might show that the Sultan ever suffered from any kind of madness. Probably, Elphinstone and other European writers were misled by the statement of Barani and Ibn Battuta that there were always some dead bodies found lying in front of the Sultan's Palace. Muhammad inflicted the punishment of death for party offences not because he was mad, but because he could make no discrimination between crime and crime. The mistake was due to the lack of a sense of proportion rather than to mental insanity. It must also be said in fairness to the Sultan that punishment of death was common in the medieval age both in Europe

and in Asia. It is also incorrect to say that Muhammad delighted in shedding human blood. The charge was brought against him by Barani, who belonged to the clerical party which was particularly hostile to the Sultan for his policy of depriving them of their privileges and chastising them for their failing and presumptions.

The charge of atheism is also untenable. Barani says that the Sultan had lost faith in Islam and acted against its tenets, while Ibn battuta definitely asserts that he was very meticulous in his duty prayers and other religious rites enjoined by Islam. Not only did he adhere strictly to the dogma, precept and practice of his religion but he punished those who deviated from them, and even those who did not say their prayers regularly. The truth was that in the early stage of his career Muhammad was assailed by doubts and, hence, he acted as a sceptic. But, some years after his accession he gave up scepticism and behaved like an orthodox Sunni Musalman.

There is another charge against Muhammad, namely, that of his being a visionary. There is some substance in the contention that he was fond of building castles in the air and that he thought of schemes which failed in operation. But one should not forget that many of his projects and reforms, such as, the currency and revenue reforms, were, on the others and, sound, constructive and practicable. Some of them even showed "flashes of political insight". Hence, Muhammad was both an idealist and a visionary.

Ishwari Prasad maintains that only when viewed superficially, Muhammad appears to be an "amazing compound of contradictions," but he was really not so. Dr. Mahdi Husain endeavours to show that though he had contradictory equalities in him, these appeared at different periods of his career and there were clear reasons behind them. Hence, Dr. Husain contends that he could not be called a mixture of opposites. The present writer differs from the above learned historians and believes that Muhammad did possess contradictory qualities at one and the same period of his career and that these remained part and parcel of his character throughout his life. Dr. Mahdi Husain has shown that the Sultan was a sceptic in the early days of his reign, but became really religious in his later years. This would show that so far as religion was concerned, the Sultan could not be called guilty of being religious, and irreligious at one and the same time. But Dr. Husain is silent so far as the other qualities are concerned. Muhammad was humble and, at the same time, extremely arrogant, so that as Barani writes, he would

not like to be told that there was any part of the world or heaven which was not under his control. At times he was so moderate and servile that Ibn Battuta considered humility to be the most important trait of his character. Usually, he was extremely generous, but at times, he was thoroughly narrowminded. Ibn Battuta has given a number of examples of Muhammad's great reverence for abstract justice and form of law. These show that he would, at times, appear as a suppliant in a court of justice, would behave like an ordinary citizen and receive punishment at the hands of his judge; on the other hand, he would normally inflict barbarous punishments of death and mutilation for the most petty offences. Usually, he was all kindness; but at times when his wrath was excited he would behave like a most cruel man and a great tyrant. Hence, one cannot escape the conclusion that Muhammad-bin-Tughluq was a mixture of opposites.

II

Firoz was born in 1309. He was the son of Rajjab who was the younger brother of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq. His mother was a Bhatti Rajput and a daughter of Ran Mal, a petty chieftain of Abohar in the modern district of Hissar in East Punjab. The marriage was a forced one. It is said that Ghazi Tughluq, when governor of Dipalpur, heard of the beauty and charm of his Rajput girl and pressed Ran Mal to give her away in marriage to his younger brother. But the proud Rajput spurned the proposal. Ghazi Malik, therefore, used coercion and reduced Ran Mal and his people to great hardship. The girl told her father that if by giving her away the family saved itself from inevitable destruction she would have no objection to the proposed marriage. Firoz was the offspring of this union. When he grew up, Firoz was trained in the art of administration and warfare, but he does not seem to have distinguished himself in either. Muhammad Tughluq had affection for his cousin and associated him with the administration for the kingdom. It is said that he intended Firoz to be his successor.

Firoz was present in the royal camp at Thatta when Muhammad breathed his last on 20 March, 1351. The royal army, being very greatly harassed by the enemy Taghi, and the Mongol mercenaries who had been employed by Muhammad as auxiliaries, found itself in great confusion and decided to select a leader lest it should be lost in difficulties. As Muhammad had wished Firoz to succeed him, all eyes turned towards the latter. There was, however, a small section in favour

of the minor son of the Sultan's sister, that pressed this boy's claim on the ground of his being more closely related to Muhammad than Firoz. There was one more claimant, Dawar Malik, a minor boy, son of Khudavand Zada Begum, sister of the late king. But the nobles replied that they wanted a grown-up king who should be able to lead them out of the difficulties. They urged Firoz to accept the crown. He, being a man of retiring disposition and religious bent of mind, rejected the offer. The nobles, the shaikhs and the ulema thereupon, combined to bring pressure upon him. He yielded to their importunities. His coronation took place in the camp near Thatta on 23 March, 1351.

The new king restored order in the army, saved it from the enemy (Mongols) and set out for Delhi. Hardly had he quitted Sindh when information was received that Khwaja-i-Jahan, deputy of the late Sultan, had proclaimed at Delhi a boy as the son and successor of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq and carried out his enthronement. When the army reached Multan, Firoz held consultations with his nobles and the Muslim jurists. The nobles refused to admit the existence of any son of the last Sultan. The jurists pronounced their opinion that Khwaja-i-Jahan's candidate, being a minor, was not qualified to be the Sultan of Delhi. As in Muslim law sovereignty is not considered to be a matter of 'inherited right', it was unnecessary to consider whether the boy had any right to the throne from the legal standpoint. Moreover the time required a powerful man at the helm of affairs. The cause of Khwaja-i-Jahan's nominee was doomed; so the Minister submitted and was pardoned in view of his loyal service in the past. He was allowed to go to his fief of Samana, but was put to death by a follower of Sher Khan, governor of Suman and Samana, probably at the instigation of the nobles and officers of the army, Firoz now became the undisputed sovereign of a large kingdom.

Firoz's accession has been a subject of controversy among the scholars. Sir Woolseley Haig is of opinion that the boy raised to the throne by Khwaja-i-Jahan was not 'a suppositious son,' but an issue of his body. According to him, Firoz's succession was, therefore, irregular, and he may be called a usurper. Other historians differ from this view and maintain that there is no record or proof to show that the boy was Muhammad's own son. Even if the child were Muhammad's own son, Firoz's succession was not irregular. According to Islamic law sovereignty is not the monopoly of any particular individual or a class of men. It belongs to one who is competent to

occupy the throne. In other words, there is nothing like 'inherited right' of succession to a Muslim throne. Though it must be admitted that in the Sultanate the succession of a son had come to receive some kind of recognition, yet competence and the will of the electors, that is, chief nobles and theologians and sometimes, nomination by the dying monarch were the decisive factors in the choice of successor. Firoz was duly elected, he was pronounced competent and, according to Barani, he was nominated heir by Muhammad.

Thus, he fulfilled all important conditions. Hence, he cannot be called usurper, nor can it be maintained that his accession was irregular. Dr. Ram Prasad Tripathi says that, "Firoz's accession revived the principle of election which had been gradually receding in the background without, however, denying the right of the son to rule. The case also emphasized fitness against merely close relationship to the sovereign." Moreover, it enunciated two new principles, namely, that it did not matter if a ruler was born of a mother who had been a non-Muslim before her marriage, and that it was not necessary that he should be a distinguished soldier. For these reasons Firoz's accession "is as important as it is interesting."

Administration

Although there was a conspiracy against Firoz and a few unsuccessful attempts were made to murder him, he entered the capital towards the end of August 1351, without opposition. He appointed Malk-i-Maqbul his prime minister and gave him the title of Khan-i-Jahan. The new prime minister was a Brahman from Telengana and had recently become a convert to Islam. He was a very able administrator and his adhesion proved to be a great asset. Firoz's first task was to conciliate his subjects by remitting all debts due to the government and by "abstaining from any endeavour to recover the treasure which had been lavished by Khwaja-i-Jahan in his attempt to establish his nominee." The Sultan was lucky in enjoying the confidence and support of the people of Delhi, particularly of the orthodox Suni section of its population. He was able, with public support, to effect some improvements in the administration of law and order and to give security to the people which had been sadly lacking owing to disturbances during the last years of Muhammad's reign. Firoz looked upon himself as trustee of the state and responsible for the welfare of the people (Muslims).

He reasserted the principles of the theocratic system of government and considered himself to be the real sovereign of only the Muslim section of his subjects for whose moral and material welfare he did all that was possible in that age. He tried to approximate to the ideal of a true Islamic monarch. Firoz, therefore, lived and worked in a dual capacity, that is, temporal ruler of all the people living in his dominions and temporal and spiritual (religious) ruler of his Muslim subjects. He succeeded in giving a certain measure of material prosperity to the people and in raising the importance of orthodox Islam.

The second task before the new Sultan was that of "raising the Delhi Sultanate from the state of decrepitude and demoralization into which it had fallen since the closing year of his predecessor's reign." This was not possible without spectacular military achievement and without recovering the lost provinces of the kingdom, namely, the Dakhin, Bengal, Sindh and Rajasthan. Firoz who lacked military ability of a high order and power of domination, shuddered from the thought of recovering the Dakhin and Rajasthan. He made a half-hearted attempt, and without success, to bring Bengal and Sindh back under the control of Delhi. He made little or not attempt to increase the power and prestige of the crown. He was essentially a man of peace. His main work was directed to improving the economic lot of the people. He introduced no administrative reforms as such (except those in the revenue department), but made the administration work run smoothly during his long reign. He appointed capable ministers, entrusted the work of government to them and gave them his confidence and support. This was the secret of his success as a ruler.

The Revenue Policy

Firoz paid great attention to the revenue affairs of his kingdom. He found the financial and the revenue administration in a chaotic condition. The people had suffered greatly from extortion, mal-administration and famine. To head the wounds and restore confidence he wrote off the taqavi loans that had been advanced to the people by the late Sultan. He increased the salaries of the officers and abolished the use of physical coercion to which governors and revenue officers were subjected when they came to the court to render accounts of the income and expenditure of their jurisdiction. The most important task was that of preparing a statement of the probable income of the state.

He had a rough estimate made of the public revenue of the kingdom. This task was entrusted to an experienced revenue officer, named Khwaja Hisam-ud-Din. As the result of six years' hard work, during which he made a tour of the provinces and examined revenue records, the Khwaja fixed the revenue of the khalisah lands in the kingdom at six crores and eighty-five lakh tankas. These figures, which remained unchanged, represented Firoz's annual income from the land revenue of the territory directly under the state administration, throughout his reign.

The estimate was not made on the basis of the measurement of land and the ascertainment of the actual produce of the soil. It was the result of guess or speculation, reinforced by local information and the past experience of the revenue department. He abandoned the more scientific method of fixing the state demand by measurement of land. In spite of this basic defect, the fixing of the land revenue of the Sultanate on more or less a permanent basis was a great achievement for which Firoz deserves credit.

The Sultan abolished as many as twenty-six (24 according to some) vexatious taxes, including the much hated grazing and house taxes. He lowered the State demand as far as land revenue was concerned. He further lightened the cultivators' burden by putting an end to the pernicious custom of imposing benevolences on the governors at the time of their appointment, and also annually, which really used to fall upon the shoulders of the people. In conformity with the Quaranic law, Firoz charged six taxes, namely, kharaj, ushr, tarkat, khams, jizya and zakat. Kharaj was the land tax from non-Muslims, its rate varying from one-fifth to one-half of the produce. Ushr was one-tenth of the produce charged from Muslim cultivators. Tarkat was the heirless property, that is, the property of a person dying without an heir. Khams meant one-fifth of the booty captured during war. Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughluq used to appropriate four-fifths of the booty, leaving only one-fifth to army. But Firoz followed the Islamic custom of taking one-fifth and leaving four-fifths to the soldiery. Khams was also one-fifth of the income from mines, four-fifths being left to the owner. Firoz was quite stick in realizing jiziya from the non-Muslims.

He even extended its scope by charging it from the Brahmans who had either been exempt from this tax or had managed to evade it. Zakat was a 2 per cent tax on property realized from the Muslims and

was spent on certain specific religious purposes for the benefit of Muslims only. In addition to these six taxes, the Sultan later on added, with the approval of the ulema, irrigation tax levied on those cultivators who made use of the water of the State canals for irrigating their fields. Its rate was one-tenth of the produce of the irrigated area. Officers and revenue collectors were warned not to charge more than the prescribed dues. Those who violated these instructions were punished. Revenue officers and collectors were paid liberally by grants of land, and also allowances, so that they might not harass the cultivators.

The Sultan took steps to make internal trade free by abolishing a number of duties that had greatly hampered the circulation of merchandise and retarded commercial prosperity. This wise measure revived the dwindling trade.

The great interest that Firoz paid to revenue administration brought him considerable income. His enhanced revenues were due to: (1) improved quality of cultivation and superior crops, (2) water tax, and (3) gardens. Firoz was very fond of gardens. He laid out 1,200 fruit gardens in the neighbourhood of Delhi which yielded an annual revenue of one lakh and eighty thousand tankas and enabled him to solve the problem of food shortage in Delhi.

The result of the above measures was extension of cultivation, progress of trade, general prosperity of the people and increase in the revenue of State. Grain, cloth and other necessities of life became very cheap. We are told by contemporary writers that no village lay waste and no land fit for cultivation remained untilled. This seems to be an exaggeration; but there is not doubt that cultivators toiled hard and their fields produced much more than they had done for many years in the past. Shams-i-Siraj Afif sums up the effect of Firoz's beneficial revenue reforms in these words: "Their (people's) homes were replete with grain, property; horses and furniture; everyone had plenty of gold and silver, no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds and diwans. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The State did not suffer from financial bankruptcy during his reign. The revenues of the Doab amounted to eighty lakhs of tankas and those of the territories of Delhi to six crores and eighty-five lakhs of tankas."

Firoz's revenue policy was marred by three main defects. The first was the extension of the farming system which had been in existence throughout the period. Both Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad-bin-

Tughluq had discouraged it and preferred direct management. Firoz, on the other hand gave great impetus to this system. The work of revenue collection was given to the highest bidders who tried to extort as much from the cultivators as they could. The second defect was his jagir system. Both Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughluq were against the grant of jagirs to military and civil officers. Firoz, however, made it a rule to pay his military commanders, and even soldiers and civil officers, by assigning land to them. The assignment deeds were sold at a discount to professional revenue collectors with the result that the state suffered, the people were harassed and the assignees also got less than their legitimate share of the revenue of the assigned lands. The third defect was the extension of the scope and rigours of collection of the jizya. Being a religious tax and a charge from the non-Muslim, it was already very unpopular. But, as Firoz was religiously inclined, he rigorously collected this tax. To him it was an anomaly that the Brahmans, who were the 'citadel of infidelity,' should be free from it. So he imposed this tax upon the Brahmans for the first time in the history of the Sultanate.

Irrigation

Another measure undertaken by the Sultan for the encouragement of agriculture was the introduction of a series of canals for irrigational purposes. Five such canals were constructed by the Sultan's orders. The most important of them was the canal which carried the waters of the Yamuna to the city of Hissar. It was 150 miles long. The second canal, 96 miles long, ran from the Sutlaj to the Ghagara. The third started from the neighbourhood of Mandavi and Sirmur hills and connected it with Hansi. The fourth ran from the Ghagara to the newly established town of Firozabad and the fifth ran from the Yamuna to Firozabad. The remains of some of these canals are seen to this day. Firoz sunk 150 wells, both for irrigation and for the use of travellers.

A large area of land covering over 160 miles was served by two of the biggest canals. In the Doab alone there sprung up 52 colonies. In the area watered by the canals, superior crops, such as wheat, sugarcane, lentils, etc. were grown. Fruits were also cultivated.

Public Works

Firoz was a great builder of works of public utility. He is said to have founded 300 towns which cannot be true unless we include in

this the number of villages that had decayed or disappeared but were repopulated as a result of the Sultan's kindly policy of encouraging agriculture. The important towns of Firozabad (the Kotla Firoz Shah in Delhi), Fatehabad, Hissar, Jaunpur and Firozpur (near Badaun) were founded by him. He built "four mosques, thirty palaces, two hundred caravanserais, five reservoirs, five hospitals, a hundred tombs, ten baths, ten monumental tombs, and a hundred bridges." He had two of Ashoka's pillars brought to Delhi; one from Khizrabad and the other from near Meerut. Besides, he laid out many gardens. As had already been given, he laid out 1,200 gardens in the vicinity of Delhi which produced so much fruit that it brought to the treasury an annual income of one lakh and eighty thousand tankas.

Justice and Humanitarian Measures

Firoz was guided by the Islamic law in the administration of justice. There was a chief qazi at the capital and several subordinate qazis in the provinces and in important towns in his dominions. According to the Islamic practice, the mufti expounded the law, while the qazi delivered and judgement. The Sultan abolished torture which was commonly practised as a means of ascertaining the truth. But, as Firoz was kind-hearted, sometimes he imposed very mild punishment on criminals. Some culprits got no punishment at all. The result of his clemency was on the whole, not very wholesome.

Firoz, introduced some benevolent measures for the welfare of the people. He established an employment bureau and placed an officer in charge of it. The names of unemployed persons were registered in this office and they were given suitable appointments according to their qualifications and fitness. He established a charity bureau which was called Diwan-i-Khairat. The department gave pecuniary help for the marriage of Muslim girls and for the benefit of widows and orphans. The Sultan established a charitable hospital, Dar-ul-Shata, which was placed under the charge of skillful physicians. Patients were supplied free medicines and diet.

Firoz had thirty-six karkhanas (workshops), each under a superintendent. The head of all the karkhanas was the chief superintendent who was of the rank of a muqti or governor. The karkhanas were meant for manufacturing various kinds of articles for the use of the Sultan, his court and government.

Promotion of learning

Firoz was greatly interested in learning. As was a patron of scholars and granted them liberal subsistence allowances. He established many schools, colleges and monasteries, placed these institutions in charge of learned men and endowed them handsomely. There was an educational institution attached to each mosque. The Sultan was specially fond of history. Zia-ud-Din Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif wrote their works under his patronage. Two other important works of history, namely, *Fatwah-i-Jahandari* by Barani and *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, were written during his reign. The Sultan wrote his autobiography which is entitled *Futuh-i-Firozshahi*. He was interested in medicine also. After the conquest of Kangra of great library containing Sanskrit works fell into his hands. Firoz caused some of the Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian. One of these was given by him the name of *Dalayi-i-Firozshahi*. Firoz's personal interest and the state patronage of learning encouraged the study of theology, jurisprudence and other branches of Islamic learning. It must, however, be confessed that the outlook of most of the scholars of the time was rather narrow and vitiated by religious fanaticism.

Religious Policy

Firoz Tughluq was elevated to the throne by prominent nobles and the ulema. By temperament and training, too, he was attracted towards religion. Moreover, as he was born of a lady who had been Hindu at least in her early life, the Sultan must have thought it necessary to show that he was no less a Musalman than those who were born of parents of pure Turkish lineage. For these reasons, he regulated his life according to the precepts of the Quran, discarded non-Muslim practices and did his utmost to enforce the shar in the public affairs and administration. He followed the policy of restoring the prestige and power of the ulema. Unlike Ala-ud-Din and Muhammad Tughluq, he consulted Muslim divines and accepted their advice even in political and secular matters. Owing to this policy the controversy regarding the authority of the church and the conflict between the Sultan and the clerical order of the previous reign came to an end. As the ulema were orthodox Muslims with narrow and cramped outlook on life, their interference in state affairs produced injurious results. Under their influence, Firoz behaved as a true Islamic monarch and considered it to be his duty to stand forth as a champion of 'the faith' and to repress

Hinduism and put down idolatry. The Sultan himself writes in his autobiography that he encouraged his subjects to embrace Islam by various methods. He exempted those Hindus from *jizya* who became converts to this religion. He encouraged conversion by giving jagirs, rewards in cash, titles and honours and state employment. He demolished as many Hindu temples as he could and broke their images to pieces, and ordered a Brahman to be put to death on the charge that he was seducing Muslims to give up their religion.

The Sultan was very intolerant towards the Shias and other non-Sunni Musalmans who were considered heretics by orthodox Sunnis. The Shias were punished and their religious books were publicly burnt, the Mulhids (Karmathians and Ismaili Shias) were similarly persecuted, and so also the Mahdwis. Even the Sufis were not spared.

Such a ruler was bound to entertain great regard for the nominal Khalifa of Egypt. From him he twice received the investiture and robes of honour as Sultan. For the first time in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi, Firoz described himself as the deputy of the Khalifa. The Khalifa's name was included in the coins and was read in the *khutba* along with that of the Sultan.

Slave System

The slave system received great impetus during the reign of Firoz who was very fond of slaves. He issued standing instructions to his governors and others to send him slaves from all parts of the kingdom. These slaves numbered about one lakh and eighty thousand, out of whom forty thousand were enlisted for service in the Sultan's place. They were placed under a separate officer with a regular staff of subordinates and clerks. A large sum of money was earmarked for the expenditure of this department. Most of the slaves were posted in various provinces. Firoz made a good arrangement for their education and employment, but the system became very pernicious. Like the ulema, the slaves interfered with the administration. The slave system became an important cause of the disintegration of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Army

The army was organized on feudal basis. The standing army established by Ala-ud-Din Khalji seems to have gone into disuse and its place taken up by contingents of troops furnished by nobles and

provincial governments, though, of course, the old bodyguards remained as before. The troops were generally paid by grants of land. A small number of irregulars were paid direct from the royal treasury. A majority of the army men were paid by transferable assignments on the revenue. The assignments were purchased at Delhi by a professional class at one-third of their value. These were sold to the soldiers in the districts at one-half. This practice led to great abuse and the army discipline suffered considerably. The second defect was due to the rule that when a soldier became old, his son or son-in-law or even his slave could succeed him. Service in the army, thus, became hereditary and considerations of merit and fitness were thrown to the winds. Thirdly, leaving aside a small section of eighty or ninety thousand cavalry, which remained at the capital, the rest of the army consisted of quotas supplied by the nobles. This part of the army could not be properly controlled by the central government, as the recruitment, promotion and discipline of the troops were in the hands of the nobles and not in those of the army ministers. The military establishment became weak and corrupt and ceased to be a great instrument of force.

Foreign Policy

Firoz's foreign policy was marked by vacillation and weakness. He made no attempt to recover the Dakhin that had torn itself off from the Sultanate and had become absolutely independent during the later years of muhammad-bin-Tughluq's reign. When pressed by his advisers to reduce the Bahamani kingdom, he evaded it on the plea that he was altogether against shedding the blood of the Muslims. Though he had no such scruples in regard to Rajasthan, he showed no desire to bring Mewar, Marwar and other states back under the suzerainty of Delhi. His feeble attempts to reduce Bengal failed ignominiously. In fact, his expeditions revealed the lack of military talent on his part and brought little or no gain to the Sultanate.

Bengal

Bengal had asserted its independence as early as 1338. By 1352 Haji Iliyas, who styled himself as Shams-ud-Din Iliyas Shah, had brought the whole of that province under his rule. Next, he invaded Tirhut with the object of conquering the south-eastern part of the Delhi Sultanate. Such an aggression could to be tolerated even by Firoz who invaded Bengal in 1353 with 70,000 horse and a large number of foot soldiers. Iliyas, abandoning his capital, Pandua, fled to Ikadala which

Firoz failed to subdue. Fearing the approach of the rainy season, the Sultan gave up the campaign and began his return march to Delhi. Iliyas attacked him on the way but was defeated and the Delhi army returned safely to the capital.

In 1359, Firoz again invaded Bengal on the pretext of helping Zafar Khan, a son-in-law of a previous Sultan of East Bengal, to vindicate his claim to that province. Iliyas successor, Sikandar, like his father, fled to Ikadala and Firoz had to recognize his independence and return to Delhi without achieving his object.

Expedition to Puri

On his way back from Bengal Firoz halted for sometime at Jaunpur from where he marched against Jajnapur (modern Orissa). His objective was the famous Jagannath temple of Puri. Bhanu Deva III, the Raja of Jajnapur, fled. The fanatical Sultan desecrated the temple and threw the idol into the sea. The Raja offered his submission and agreed to send eighteen elephants as tribute, whereupon Firoz returned to Delhi (July 1361).

Conquest of Nagarkot

In 1363, the Sultan led an expedition to Nagarkot in Kangra which had defied the might of Muhammad-bin-tughluq's kingdom. Raja Rupchand was persuaded to submit after six month's siege and was honourably received. Firoz failed to desecrate the temple of Jwalamukhi, but he seized 1,300 Sanskrit manuscripts, some of which were translated into Persian on the Sultan's orders.

Conquest of Sindh

In 1365, Firoz invaded Thatta (Sindh) at the head of 90,000 horse, numerous infantry and 480 elephants, besides many boats. The ruler, Jam Banbhina of the Samma tribe who had allied himself with the Mongols, opposed him with an equally powerful force. The Delhi army suffered greatly in the contest and Firoz was obliged to retreat to Gujarat for reinforcements. But he was misled by the guides into the Rann of Kutch from where he emerged after six months, during which period great anxiety was felt at Delhi on account of the absence of news about the Sultan and his army. In 1366, Firoz reattached Thatta with the help of an additional army sent from Delhi by his prime minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul. The Jam agreed to pay tribute, whereupon the Sultan returned to his capital.

The country was remarkably free from Mongol invasions during Firoz's reign. Only two Mongol raids are said to have taken place. They were, however, repelled without difficulty.

Suppression of Rebellions

During the early years of his reign an unsuccessful plot was formed against the Sultan's life by his cousin, Khudavandzada, sister of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. His later years, also, were disturbed by a few rebellions. The first rebellion occurred in Gujarat. There the new governor, Damaghani, raised the standard of rebellion as he could not collect the huge sum for which the revenues of the province had been framed out to him. He was, however, defeated and his head was sent to the court.

The second rebellion occurred in Etawah in 1377, where the revenues could hardly be collected except at the point of the bayonet. This, too, was suppressed. The third took place in Katehar where the Raja, Kharku put two Sayyids to death. Firoz, anxious to punish the crime, marched to Katehar in 1380. He ordered a general massacre of the people. Kharku fled into the hills of Kumaun and the Sultan's wrath fell upon the People of the province. Under the Sultan's orders the Delhi army perpetrated great cruelty. Thousands of innocent people were slain and 23,000 were taken prisoners and converted into slaves. He appointed an Afghan governor of the province and, during the next five years, visited it annually to supplement the Afghan's bloody work. The result was that, in the words of the historian, "the spirits of the murdered Sayyids themselves arose to intercede."

Last Days and Death

The last years of Firoz's life were clouded by sorrow and misery. The death in July 1374, of his eldest son, Fateh Khan, whom he had nominated his heir-apparent, administered a severe blow to him. He was already very old and, owing to the grief, his power and judgement began to fail him. He now nominated his second son, Zafar Khan, his successor, but he too died. The sultan's choice now fell on his third son, Muhammad Khan, but he was not formally appointed heir. Power now passed into the hands of the prime minister, Khan-i-Jahan, the son of the great Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul who had died some time before. The new prime minister fomented trouble and persuaded Firoz to believe that the prince was conspiring with Zafar Khan and other nobles

to seize the throne for himself. The deluded Sultan authorized Khan-i-Jahan to punish the prince's partisans. Zafar was consequently arrested and imprisoned in the prime minister's house. But Prince Muhammad managed to enter the royal apartments in the disguise of a woman, threw himself at his father's feet and explained to him that Khan-i-Jahan was a traitor and intended to pave his own way to the throne by bringing about the destruction of the royal family. Firoz permitted the prince to punish Khan-i-Jahan, whose house was now besieged. But Khan-i-Jahan managed to flee by a back door to Mewat where he took shelter. Prince Muhammad was now associated with the administration and was allowed to share the royal title.

He was formally declared heir-apparent in August 1387. The prince had Khan-i-Jahan killed. He then appropriated all power in the State, but, instead of looking after public business, he devoted himself to pleasures. The administrative machinery became lax and there was confusion. Some of the royal nobles tried to rouse Muhammad to a sense of responsibility, but without success. Being disappointed, they organized a rebellion against his authority. Muhammad was obliged to fight. He was on the verge of victory when the nobles brought the Sultan into the field. The appearance of Firoz at the head of the army brought about a debacle. Muhammad was defeated and fled for his life. Firoz now appointed his grandson, Ghiyas-ud-Din. Tughluq Shah, son of the deceased Fateh Khan, as his heir and conferred upon him the royal title. The old Sultan died on September 20, 1388, aged about eighty.

Personality and Character

Historians hold different views about the personality and character of Firoz Tughluq. Contemporary writer, such as Barani and Shams-i-Siraj Afif, praise him as the most just, merciful and benevolent ruler since the time of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud. Henry Elliot, the editor of *History of India as Told by its Historians* and Elphinstone, author of *History of India*, have described Firoz as Akbar of the Sultanate period. Dr. V.A. Smith differs emphatically and says that it is absurd to compare Firoz with Akbar. Dr. Ishwar Prasad maintains that "Firoz had not even a hundredth part of the genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch who preached from the high platform of public interest the gospel of peace, goodwill and toleration towards all sects and creeds." Sir Woolsey Haig's considered opinion is that "the reign

of Firoz closes the most brilliant epoch of Muslim rule in India before the reign of Akbar." The truth lies between these extremes.

There are no two opinions about the fact that Firoz possessed qualities of the heart, though not of the head. He was honest and sincere in his convictions and professions, and he really wished the welfare of his people. No Sultan to Delhi before or after him did so much for the material prosperity of his subjects. His revenue policy fostered agricultural prosperity and gave comfort and happiness to the vast majority of the people. He did whatever was possible in that age to free the trade and commerce which resulted in cheapening the prices of things. Dr. R.P. Tripathi rightly observes: "The masses judge a ruler by the material prosperity that they can see and feel...." It is no wonder, therefore, that Firoz has won golden opinion from historians, both contemporary and modern.

The Sultan's numerous acts of charity added to his popularity. The employment bureau, the charity department, the state endowed schools and colleges, subsistence allowances and stipends to scholars and holy men, the comfort and convenience given to travellers and his mild and generous treatment towards State employees—all combined to contribute to a feeling that the Sultan was the real trustee of the people's welfare. Measures like the above had not been undertaken by any previous Turkish ruler. That they were sorely needed after the great sufferings and harassment of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq's reign hardly needs emphasizing. Hitherto, the activity of the ruler was confined to making fresh conquests, to the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue. Firoz widened the sphere of State activity in the interests of his subjects. He must get credit for it.

But there is the other side of his character which is disappointing to those who believe in military exploits and in the prestige of the monarch. Far from being a military genius, Firoz was not even a seasoned soldier or a successful commander. He was timorous and his expeditions brought him little prestige and no gain. Secondly, sometimes his generosity and benevolence were indiscriminate and, as such, injurious to the interests of order and discipline without which no administration can ever be successful. In fact, Firoz was sometimes over-lenient which marred the efficiency of administration and stood in the way of proper enforcement of the reforms which he himself had devised. Many instances of Firoz's misplaced generosity are on record in the pages of his court historians. It is said that once he gave a gold

tanka to a trooper to bribe the clerks of the military department who would not pass an unfit horse at a military review without illegal gratification.

At another time, he connived at the fraud committed by his mint master who deliberately allowed an undue proportion of alloy in the coins in order to misappropriate a large sum of money. He was aware that the transferable assignment deeds given to the soldiers in lieu of their salaries were sold at one-half their face value and yet he did not take any steps against the malpractices. Similar other instances of the Sultan's injurious leniency can be multiplied; but the above are enough to show that interested persons took undue advantage of his madness. Thirdly, he organized his army on a feudal basis which impaired its discipline and solidarity as a fighting force. Fourthly, his fondness for slaves, whose number rose to one lakh and eighty thousand, led to undue interference in the work of administration and caused great embarrassment to honest officers. Fifthly, Firoz's religious policy, which was based on the principle of active interference with the religious beliefs and practices of the overwhelmingly vast majority of his subjects, was ill-advised, unjust and injurious. Under him, for the first time in the history of the Sultanate, the State became a proselytizing agency.

He did everything to convert Hindus to Islam. "I encouraged," says Firoz in his autobiography, "my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that everyone who repeated the creed and became a Musalman should be exempt from jiziya or poll tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large, and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves and were admitted to the honour of Islam." Such a policy was bound to alienate the people's sympathy. He restored the ulema to their former place of ascendancy. Although it made him popular with them, the policy eventually proved injurious to the best interests of the Sultanate. Firoz won the good opinion of orthodox Sunni public by subscribing to their narrow, fanatical views. This too, in the long run, sapped the foundation of his kingdom. Dr. Tripathi is right when he says: "The irony of history reflects itself in the unfortunate fact that the very qualities that had contributed to the popularity of Firoz were also largely responsible for the weakness of the Sultanate of Delhi."

Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul

The credit for whatever success was achieved by Firoz Tughluq goes mostly to his prime minister, Khan-i-Jahan Maqbul. He was originally a Brahman or Telengana and was in the service of the raja of that kingdom. After the conquest and annexation of the kingdom Maqbul turned a Muslim. He was employed by Mohammad-bin-Tughluq and was given the fief of Multan. When Firoz became king, Maqbul was raised to the exalted post of the prime minister. He was illiterate, yet a very talented politician. Firoz reposed confidence in Khan-i-Jahan and left him in charge of the capital whenever, he had to go on a distant expedition. The prime minister managed the affairs of the government so efficiently that nothing went wrong during the absence of the king. Like most well-placed men in that age, Khan-i-Jahan was addicted to sensual pleasures. His harem is said to have comprised two thousand women of different nationalities, and he had many children from them. He died in 1370 at a ripe old age. He was succeeded in the office of prime minister by his son, Jauna Shah, who was given his father's title of Khan-i-Jahan.

Later Tughluq, 1388-1414

On Firoz's death in September 1388, the throne of Delhi passed to his grandson, Tughluq Shah, son of Fateh Khan, who assumed the title of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq II. He was an inexperienced and pleasure-loving youth. His conduct gave offence to his maliks and amirs who deposed him and placed Abu Bakr, son of Zafar Khan, on the throne on February 19, 1389. But prince Muhammad, who had acted as Firoz's deputy and had been driven out of the capital by a party of nobles, asserted his claim to the throne. With the help of certain powerful officials he proclaimed himself king at Samana on April 24, 1389. Then followed a contest between the two rival monarchs as the result of which Abu Bakr was forced to quit the throne in 1390. But Muhammad, too, could not rule for long. Owing to intemperance and excessive indulgence, his health was greatly impaired and he died in January 1394. He was succeeded by Humayun, entitled Ala-ud-Din Sikandar Shah who died on March 8, 1395. Then came to the throne Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, the youngest son of Muhammad. This prince was destined to be the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty. His claim to sovereignty was disputed by Nusrat Shah, a son of Fateh Khan, the eldest son of Firoz. For some time there were, thus, two kings ruling

at one and the same time—one at Delhi and the other at Firozabad. They lived and quarreled, as the historian Badauni says, like the kings of the game of chess.

All the later rules of the Tughluq dynasty, who followed Firoz were utterly incompetent men without any ability or strength of character. All of them were puppets in the hands of their ambitious and unscrupulous nobles who intrigued hard to further their own personal interests to the neglect of those of the state. The led to civil wars among the rival claimants to the throne of the kingdom. The Sultanate of Delhi began to disintegrate. Muslim governors and Hindu chiefs everywhere threw off their allegiance and became *de facto* sovereigns in their own principalities. The vast kingdom built up by the valour, ability and labours of the successive monarch from Qutb-ud-Din to Muhammad-bin-Tughluq fell to pieces. Malik Sarvar, a eunuch who enjoyed the title of Sultan-ush-Sharq (Ruler of the East), became independent at Jaunpur and laid the foundation of the Sharqi dynasty. Gujarat under Zafar Khan, who had once been its governor, cut off its connection with Delhi. Malwa and Khandesh became independent states. The Khokhars in the North-Eastern Punjab, who had never been effectively subjugated, rose in rebellion. the chiefs of Rajasthan made no pretence of showing deference to the Sultan of Delhi and Gwalior became an independent state. The Hindus of the Doab who hardly paid revenues, except at the point of the bayonet even in the good old days Muhammad and Firoz, tried to shake off their slavery. Bayana became a new Muslim state. Kalpi also followed suit. The extinction of the kingdom became only a question of time. The death blow was dealt by the terrible invasion of Timur in 1398.

Invasion of Timur, 1398-99

Amir Timur was born in 1336 at Kech in Trans-Oxiana. His father, Amir Turghay, was the chief of the Gurgan or Chaghtai branch of the Barlas Turks. Timur ascended the throne of Samarqand in 1369 when he was thirty-three years old. Being an extremely ambitious and enterprising prince, he undertook aggressive conquests of Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia. These successes whetted his appetite for further conquests. The fabulous wealth of Hindustan attracted his attention. The Delhi Sultanate was fast tottering and afforded an opportunity to the Turkish conqueror to help himself at its expense. But, being a clever diplomat he pretended that his main object in

undertaking an expedition to India was to put down idolatry which was tolerated by the Sultans of Delhi. He had no desire whatever of conquering Hindustan and ruling over it either directly or indirectly.

Timur sent the advance guard of his army under his grandson, Pir Muhammad, who besieged and captured Multan early in 1398. He himself started from Samarqand in April 1398, with a very powerful force and, crossing the Indus, the Jhelum and the Ravi, besieged Talamba, seventy-five miles to the north-east of Multan, in October. After plundering the town and massacring its inhabitants, he reached the vicinity of Delhi in the first week of December 1398, travelling via Pak Patan, Dipalpur, Bhatner, Sirsa and Kaithal, plundering and burning the country and massacring the people on the way. On his approach Sultan Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud Tughluq and his prime minister, Mallu Iqbal, made an attempt to oppose him. Before fighting the Tughluq army, Timur, who wanted to get rid of the embarrassing presence of the prisoners he had made on his way to Delhi, butchered one lakh of Hindu captives in cold blood. Then he fought and defeated Mahmud on December 17, 1398. The Indian army consisted of ten thousand cavalry, forty thousand infantry and one hundred and twenty elephants and yet it easily fell before the on slaught of the invading force. Sultan Mahmud fled to Gujarat and Mallu Iqbal to Bulandshahr.

Timur occupied Delhi on December 18, 1398. The citizens of the capital, headed by the ulema, waited on the conqueror and begged quarter. Timur agreed to spare the citizens; but owing to the oppressive conduct of the soldiers of the invading force, the people of the city were obliged to offer resistance. Timur now ordered a general plunder and massacre which lasted for several days. Thousands of the citizens of Delhi were murdered and thousands were made prisoners. A historian writes: "High towers built with the heads of the Hindus, and their bodies became the food of ravenous beasts and birds.... such of the inhabitants who escaped alive were made prisoners." This conqueror acquired immense riches. Every soldier in his army became rich overnight and "there was none so humble but had at last twenty slaves." Timur picked up the best artisans of Delhi and sent them to Samarqand to build for him the famous Friday Mosque.

The conqueror remained at Delhi for fifteen days. He had no desire to stay in India and to rule over it. He quitted Delhi on January 1, 1399 on a return march to Samarqand. Passing through Firozabad (Delhi) he reached Meerut which he stormed on January 19, 1399. He

had to engage and defeat two Hindu armies near Hardwar. He then proceeded along the Sivalik Hills to Kangra, plundering and sacking that town and Jammu—everywhere the inhabitants being slaughtered like cattle. Before quitting the borders of our country, the conqueror appointed Khizr Khan, who had been expelled by a rival (Sarang Khan) from the governorship of Multan, to the government of Multan, Lahore and Dipalpur. He crossed back the Indus on March 19, 1399 “after inflicting on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single campaign.”

India after Timurs Departure

Timur left our country prostrate and bleeding. There was utter confusion and misery throughout Northern India. Our North-Western provinces including northern tracts of Rajasthan and Delhi, were so thoroughly ravaged, plundered and even burnt that it took these parts many years, indeed, to recover their prosperity. Lakhs of men, and in some cases, many women and children too, were butchered in cold blood. The rabi crops standing in the fields were completely destroyed for many miles on both the sides of the invader's long and double route from the Indus to Delhi and back. Stores of grain were looted or destroyed. Trade, commerce and other signs of material prosperity disappeared. The city of Delhi was depopulated and ruined. It was without a master or a care taker. There was scarcity and virulent famine in the capital and its suburbs. This was followed by a pestilence caused to the pollution of the air and water by thousands of uncared for dead bodies. In the words of the historian Badauni, “those of the inhabitants who were left died (of famine and pestilence), while for two months not a bird moved wing in Delhi.”

The Sultanate of Delhi, which had already been broken up into fragments before Timur's invasion, was now shrunk to the dimensions of a petty principality comprising the capital city and a few districts around it. For about three months the kingdom had no king as the rival monarchs. Mahmud Shah and Nusrat Shah, had fled to save their skin from the invader's fury. In March 1399, Nusrat Shah, who had been driven out of the capital by the rival, Mahmud returned to Delhi; but Mallu Iqbal, Mahmud's prime minister, who soon followed him, again expelled him. In 1401, he invited Mahmud back to Delhi and kept him a puppet in his hands. Mallu struggled hard, but unsuccessfully, to re-establish control over some of the neighbouring provinces and was

slain in a battle with Khizr Khan of Multan in 1405. Mahmud who was thus freed from the galling tutelage of this dictator failed to consolidate his authority and died in February 1413. With his death came to an end the Tughluq dynasty founded by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq in 1320.

The nobles now chose one of their number, named Daulat Khan, who refrained from assuming royal dignity. He was not likely to succeed in restoring order and reducing the rebellious provinces to submission where Firoz Tughluq's immediate successor, who had the prestige of crowned monarchs, had failed. In March 1414, Daulat Khan was besieged in Delhi by Khizr Khan of Multan and after a few months' opposition was compelled to surrender. He was sent a prisoner to Hissar. Khizr Khan became ruler of Delhi on May 28, 1418, and laid the foundation of the so-called Sayyid dynasty.

The history of the other independent kingdoms after Timur's departure need not be given in detail. It has already been mentioned that Khwaja Jahan, entitled Malik-ush-Sharq, ruled as an independent monarch at Jaunpur. That newly established kingdom included Jaunpur, a part of Bihar, the whole of Awadh and the territory as far as Kanauj. After the invader had left, the ruler of Jaunpur indulged in aggressive warfare with Delhi in order to bring it under his control. Bengal had become independent since the time of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. Firoz's two expeditions had failed to bring that province back to allegiance. Gujarat, which was a few years before, a province of the Sultanate, was now a full-fledged kingdom under Muzaffar Shah. Malwa, too owned no master. Its ruler, Dilawar Khan, did not assume royal title, but in actual practice he wielded royal authority. The Punjab, Multan and Sindh were in the hands of Khizr Khan, who was appointed governor of these provinces by Timur on his behalf. The province of Samana had turned into a small kingdom under Ghalib Khan. Bayana, near Bharatpur, was ruled by Shams Khan Auhadi. Kalpi and Mahoba were under the sway of Muhammad Khan.

The fertile region of the Doab between the Ganga and the Yamuna was in revolt. Gwalior had become a kingdom under a Hindu raja. The territory of Mewat, comprising the districts of Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur, owned no master: Sometime, it was in possession of one prince and sometimes in that of another. In Southern India the great kingdom of Vijayanagar, which had been established during the later years of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq's reign, enjoyed an absolute

independent status. Another Hindu state was founded in Telengana. Then there was the famous Bahamani kingdom. Khandesh, too, severed its connection with Delhi and became a separate state. Thus, Timur completed the dissolution of the Sultanate of Delhi which had begun to disintegrate from the later years of Muhammad Tughluq's reign.

Causes of the Fall of the Tughluq Dynasty

When Muhammad-bin-Tughluq became king, the Sultanate of Delhi embraced almost the whole of the sub-continent of India, except Orissa, Assam, Nepal and Kashmir; but during the reign of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, the last ruler of the dynasty, it dwindled to a small principality, the extent and prestige of which could be judged from a contemporary saying which runs thus: "The rule of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam." (Palam is the present aerodrome town about seven miles from Delhi.) And, as we have seen, even this distinctive kingdom passed out of the hands of the Tughluq ruling family in 1414.

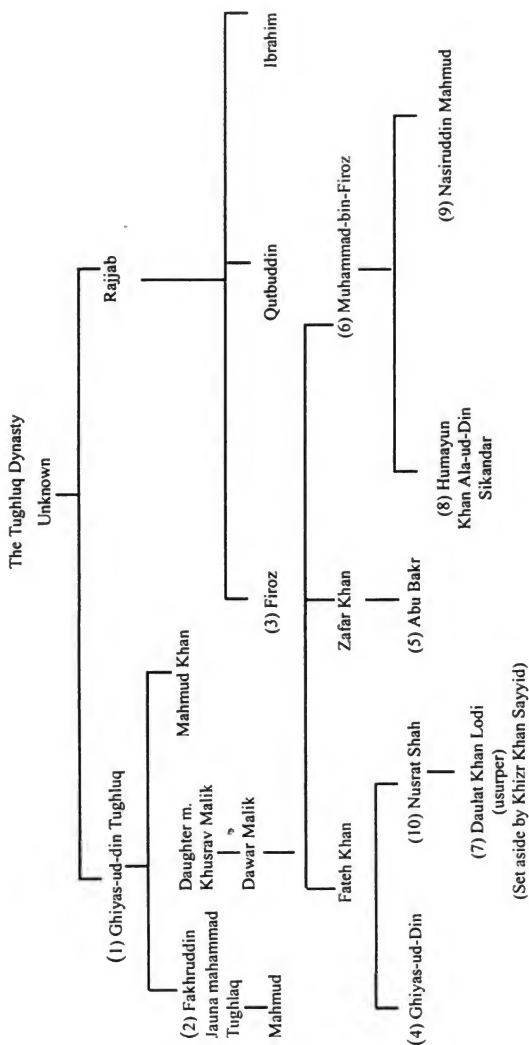
There were several causes of the decline and fall of the Tughluq kingdom. In the first place, Muhammad Tughluq's character and policy were greatly responsible for the shrinkage of the dominions. Owing to his visionary projects, excessively harsh punishments and wild schemes of conquests many a provincial governor felt that his safety lay in rebellion and independence. In consequence of this feeling, the Bahamani and the Vijayanagar kingdoms came into existence in the Dakhin. Bengal cut itself off. Sindh was almost lost. In those provinces, that yet remained parts of the Sultanate, there was great dissatisfaction and discontentment. Secondly, although Firoz Tughluq tried to heal the wounds inflicted by his predecessor, his policy of leniency, religious intolerance, revival of feudalism, and impairing of the discipline and efficiency of the army, undermined the royal authority and weakened the administration beyond repair. Thirdly, Firoz Tughluq had lived too long. Two of his elder sons, who could have managed the affairs of the state successfully, predeceased him. Moreover, the old Sultan did not make proper arrangements for the education of his successors, with the result that there was no member of the Tughluq family left who could have given promise of a successful reign. Fourthly, the government of the Tughluqs, like that of previous Sultans of Delhi, was a centralized despotism which could function well only if the ruler at the helm of affairs happened to be a man of ability and strength of

character. If, on the other hand, the ruler was weak, his weakness was bound to be reflected in all branches of administration.

The later rulers of the Tughluq dynasty were incompetent, non-entities who were absorbed in pleasure and could not help becoming tools in the hands of their powerful nobles. None of them had enough political insight and wisdom to choose the right sort of man for his prime minister and give him full confidence and support. In the absence of this guiding factor, rival factions sprung up at the court, which led to civil wars. Fifthly, the nobles at the court were as demoralized as their ruler himself, with the result that a man of first-rate ability among the peers became a rare commodity. The slave system, in the early days of the Turkish rule in India had tended to produce able men, but under Firoz this system deteriorated so rapidly that among the ranks of his slaves and those of his successors there was no Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, no Iltutmish and no Balban. Sixthly, the Sultanate of Delhi was based on the force and efficiency of its military organization. Under Muhammad, and much more under Firoz and his successors, the Delhi army ceased to be an instrument of force. It could not, therefore, hold the people in awe of the royal authority. Seventhly, the government was a police government concerning itself only with the maintenance of law and order and collection of revenue; and when it could not discharge these two duties satisfactorily, it lost the sole reason for its existence. Eighthly, the Dakhin which had for the first time been conquered in the time of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, was yet an uneasy partner in the Sultanate of Delhi. It could be held only by a man of genius like the Khalji conqueror. Under weak rulers there were numerous rebellions in the Dakhin and the severance of its connection with Delhi caused unhealthy repercussions in Northern India. And finally, the Hindus, though subjected to the foreign rule for about two hundred years in the north and over a hundred years in the south had not given up their attempt to make a bid for their freedom. Certain parts even in Northern India could never really be effectively subjugated by the Turks. It took more than a hundred and fifty years for Ranthambhor to be finally conquered and annexed.

The Doab, though situated very near Delhi, could never really be made submissive. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Tughluqs, Rajasthan became independent. Gwalior and other principalities threw off their yoke. Under the cumulative effect of the above factors, it would have been surprising if the sultanate of Delhi under the Tughluqs and survived longer than it actually did.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



7

Sayyid Dynasty

Khizr Khan was the first and the ablest ruler of the so-called Sayyid dynasty. His claim to be a descendant of Prophet Muhammad was dubious and rested on the recognition of Shaikh Jalal-ud-Din of Bukhara. It seems, however, certain that his ancestors had come from Arabia. Khizr Khan did not assume the title of king, but contented himself with that of Rayat-i-Ala. He pretended to act as the viceroy of Shah Rukh, the fourth son and successor of Timur, to whom he is said to have sent the yearly tribute. While he ordered the Khutba to be read in the name of the Mughul king, his coins continued to bear the name of his Tughluq predecessors. With his accession, the Punjab, Multan and Sindh again became part of the Sultanate. The extent of the kingdom was now practically doubled.

Khizr Khan's reign was not marked by any striking success. He made an attempt to recover Etawah, Katchar, Kanauj, Patiali and Kampil, but did not achieve much success. Almost every year he would undertake an expedition for plunder and realization of revenue, and would return with certain amount of booty. The revenue of the districts of the kingdom could not be realized without the help of troops. His minister, Taj-ul-mulk co-operated with him in putting down disorder, but his efforts were not attended with conspicuous success. There grew up a rivalry between Delhi and Gujarat and Jaunpur; and the rulers of these two newly established kingdom tried to conquer and annex Delhi. In the Punjab an impostor, who gave himself out to be Sarang Khan, appeared near Hoshiarpur. The Khokhar chief, Jasrath, gave great trouble in the north-eastern Punjab. Bahadur Nahir of Mewar raised his head. The chiefs in the Doab continued in rebellion and would not pay the revenue except at the point of the bayonet. Khizr Khan

struggled hard against these chronic rebellions. He could not treat his disloyal vassals as rebels and try to crush them completely. His policy was to compel the chiefs and vassals to pay a part of the revenue due from them and to extract a promise to pay the remaining next year. But this promise was almost invariably broken as soon as his back was turned. Having been worn out by these troubles and disorders, Khizr Khan died on May 20, 1421. According to Firishta, he was just and generous ruler; but he lacked that ability, strength and character which were sorely needed in a king of Delhi at that critical juncture in our history.

Mubarak Shah, 1421-34

While on death bed, Khizr Khan nominated his son Mubarak Khan, as his heir. The new king sat on the throne of Delhi, and assumed the title of Mubarak Shah. The nobles acclaimed him as their ruler, but he could not really get adequate support from them. Like his father, he had to undertake only punitive expeditions to the different parts of his kingdom in order to put down rebels and suppress disorder. Mubarak Shah succeeded in suppressing a rebellion at Bhatinda and one also in the Doab: but the Khokhars of the Salt Range could not be punished. Their leader, Jusrath, was an ambitious chief who aspired for the throne of Delhi. Mubarak made little attempt to recover any of the lost provinces of the kingdom. His reign is notable for the fact that for the first time we come across one or two important Hindu nobles at the court of Delhi. Some of the Muslim and Hindu nobles under the leadership of Sarwar-ul-mulk, who was the wazir of the kingdom, hatched a conspiracy against the Sultan. When Mubarak was supervising the building of a town on the bank of the Yamuna, the plotters fell on him and put him to death on February 19, 1434.

We have a fairly detailed account of the reign of Mubarak Shah and his predecessors in a Persian work entitled *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*. This chronicle was compiled by Yahya bin Ahmad Sarhindi during the reign of this ruler.

Muhammad Shah, 1434-45

On the death of Mubarak Shah the nobles of Delhi elevated Muhammad to the throne. He was a grandson of Khizr Khan and the heir-designate of Mubarak Shah. The wazir, Sarwar-ul-mulk, anxious to keep power in his own hands, appropriated the royal treasures, the

stores and the elephants and kept them in his possession. He persuaded the new king to grant him the title of Khan-i-Jahan. He filled the high offices of the State with his nominees and supporters. Important fiefs, such as, Bayana, Amroha, Narnaul, Kuhram and some of the parganas in the Doab were assigned to Siddhipala and friends and followers who had played a prominent part in the assassination of Mubarak Shah. Other followers of the perndious wazir were similarly rewarded. There was, however, one noble named Kamal-ul-Mulk, who was Joyal to Khizr Khan's house and was secretly nursing a grievance against the murderers of Mubarak, whom he wanted to punish. He secretly raised a party of his followers which consisted of old maliks and amirs who were dissatisfied with the wazir for his policy of associating Hindu nobles with the administration of the court. These discontented peers besieged the wazir in the fort of Siri. The new king became a privy o the conspiracy and lent support to Kamal-ul-mulk and his party. On the other hand, Sarwar-ul-mulk wanted to lay hands on the Sultan.

The Sultan, however, forestalled their designs and ordered an attack on the wazir and his followers when they came to the court. Kamal-ud-Din came up with his followers in time and put Sarwar-ul-mulk and his followers to death. He was now appointed minister and he distributed offices among his friends and supporters. But Kamal-ul-mulk was not likely to succeed, as he had no powerful army at his back. Rebellions continued as before, Ibrahim Shari of Jaunpur invaded the eastern parts of the Sultanate and seized a number of its parganas. Mahmud Khalji of Malwa also raided the vicinity of Delhi in order to invade it; but he was obliged to return to his capital, Mandu, on the receipt of the news that his capital was threatened by Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Moreover, he was nervous to hear that Bohlal Lodi, the governor of Lahore and Sarhind, was coming to reinforce the Delhi army. Bahlol arrived in time and chased the retreating Malwa army and captured its baggage. For this timely service Bahlol was given the title of Khan-i-Khanan, and Muhammad called the Lodi chief affectionately his 'son'.

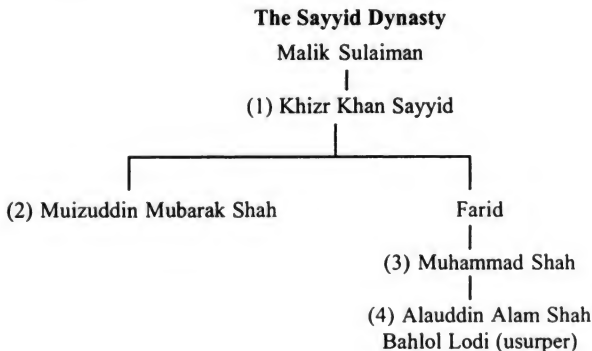
Unfortunately, another important factor emerged in the politics of Delhi at this time. Bahlol Lodi entertained the ambition of seizing the throne of Delhi for himself. He was encouraged in this ambition by Jusrath Khokhar, who had his own axe to grind. To achieve this object, Bahlol began collecting a large army of the Afghans. He invaded Delhi with a large force, but failed to capture the capital city. The fall

of the dynasty, however, was only a question of time. Everywhere there was insubordination. Revenues did not come forth and, at top of this, a formidable governor in the kingdom namely, Bahlol Lodi, was hungrily awaiting the opportunity of striking a fatal blow at it. At this critical time Muhammad died in 1445. He had proved weaker than his predecessors.

Ala-ud-Din Alam Shah, 1445-50

The maliks and amirs now placed Muhammad's son on the throne under the title of Ala-ud-Din Alam Shah. The new king was even more incompetent than his father. Bahlol Lodi tried his best to take the fullest advantage of the weakness of the Delhi government. Fortunately for him, there was a quarrel between the best king and his wazir, Hamid Khan, whom the Sultan wanted to kill. Hamid Khan, therefore, invited Bahlol to the capital thinking that the Afghan chief would act as a tool in his hands and allow him to conduct the administration as before. But Bahlol was not the man to share power with anybody. He seized Delhi by a coup and put Hamid Khan out of his way. Ala-ud-Din Alam Shah, who was a mean-spirited ruler resigned the whole kingdom to Bahlol and betook to Badaun Bahlol removed Alam Shah's name from the khutba and the coins and proclaimed himself king of Delhi on April 19, 1451. Ala-ud-Din continued to live as a private nobleman at Badaun where he died a few years later.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



8

The Economy

I

Indian society was mainly divided into two parts, the Hindus and the Muslims. As regards the Hindus, they suffered as political power passed into the hands of the Muslims. Al-Biruni explains the general attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims at the beginning of the 11th century in these words: "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them against all foreigners. They call them Mlechchha impure, and forbid any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything that touches the fire and the water of a foreigner.....They are not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them." He further tells us that the Hindus "frightened their children with us, with our dress and our ways and customs and declare us to be devil's breed and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper." Al-Biruni tries to analyse the hostile attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims and points out that "we believe in nothing in which they believe and *vice versa*." There were differences in languages and religion. There was the cruelty with which the Hindus were treated by the Muslim conquerors. Sultan Mahmud "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions" and that made the Hindus bitter towards the Muslims. The Muslim invaders dealt a blow at the cultural foundation of Hinduism. To quote Al-Biruni, "Hindu sciences have retired far away from those

parts of the country that have been conquered by us and have fled to places which our hand cannot reach, to Kashmir, Banaras and other places." However, even those places were conquered by the Muslims during the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is true that even before coming of the Muslims to India, India had been attacked by Iranians, Greeks, Parthians, Sakas, Kushanas and Huns. In their case, the invaders were absorbed into Hindu society and religion, but that did not happen in the case of Muslim invaders. The reason given by Al-Biruni is that the Hindus had lost their quality of catholicity and adaptability which had enabled their ancestors to win over foreign conquerors through a process of assimilation. However, the Hindus at the time of Muslim invasions suffered from a superiority complex. To quote him, "The Hindus believed that there is no country but theirs, no king like theirs, no science like theirs. If they, travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind." The result was that the Hindus cut themselves off from the sea. They put a rigid ban on sea voyage. That may be due to the fact that they had lost ascendancy over the Western seas to the Muslims and were not prepared to face them. The Hindu state had no navy to protect the trading vessels of the Hindus from the Muslim rivals who were backed by the Caliphs. Hindu insecurity on the seas increased after the Arab conquest of Sind and they protected themselves by treating the sea as out of bounds. The Hindus found that from Sind to Kabul there was a Muslim wall which they could not cross and that wall was extended by Sultan Mahmud of Eastern Punjab in the early years of the 11th century. Political developments outside India forced the Hindus to develop an attitude of isolationism and that crippled their mental horizon.

There is some truth in this accusation but there were other reasons also why the Hindus were not able to absorb the Muslims. There were very few, if any, among the Muslims who were inclined towards Hinduism. The inflexibility of Islam did not permit any compromise with other religions. The Muslims believed that their religion had the monopoly of the whole truth and no other truth and no other religion could compete with them. There was also the question of punishment. If the Muslim was converted to Hinduism, he was to expose himself to death penalty under the Shariat and the Muslim rulers in India did not forgive those Muslims who became Hindus. The result was that two immobile religious communities stood side by side in India. The

Muslim were not prepared to accept the religion and social structure of the Hindus and the Hindus were not prepared to accept Islam and lose their identity as other people conquered by the Muslims had done. If the Hindus at that time were narrow-minded as compared with their ancestors, that was partly due to the rigidity of Islam as compared with the religious faiths of the former invaders. When faced with the Muslims, the Hindus adopted protective armour in the form of rigid social and religious laws. The Hindus at that time had already developed an attitude of some sort of untouchability in their social intercourse with the various heterodox sects in India. Some authorities among the Hindus regarded not only the touch but even the sight of those sects as involving pollution. It was stated in the Brahamanda Purana that one should bathe with his clothes on after touching Saivas, Pasupatas, Lockayatikas and others. Similar rules were prescribed by other authorities for one who touched Buddhists, Pasupatas, Lokayatikas and others. Another authority laid down that one should look at the Sun for purification on seeing Jains, Pasupatas, Buddhists, Kaulas, etc. and purify oneself by bath on touching them. The principle of untouchability which initially applied to the lowest castes among the Hindus was ultimately applied to the Muslims as well. The result was that the Muslims were kept at a distance by raising a high social wall against them.

The Hindus hated the Muslims and called them Mlechchhas. They were not prepared to inter-dine with them or to have marriage relations. There was a feeling among the Hindus that by doing so they would fall in life. Most of the Hindus cared for their self-respect. Their superiority was undoubted. They were known for their love for justice and were not prepared to give it up in actual life. In their professions, they were known for honesty and worthy of confidence. In all spheres of life, Hindus were respected for their qualities of head and heart. It is true that the religious and intellectual leaders of the Hindus were not influenced by Muslim conquest of India and they maintained their standard of nobility and superiority, but the ordinary Hindu was affected by Muslim conquest. On account of lack of independence, there was a fall in Hindu society. The Sultans of Delhi and other Muslim rulers regarded the Hindus as their enemies. With a few exceptions, no Hindu was given any position of responsibility in the state by the Muslim rulers. Even the right to life was given to them if they agreed to pay Jizya. For political reasons, Ala-ud-Din Khalji treated the Hindus of the Doab with great severity. He humiliated the Khuts, Chaudharies

and Muqaddams. No Hindu could rise his head. There was no sign of any gold or silver coin or even Jital in their houses. They could not ride on horse. They had no arms or good clothes, Birani tells us that their lot had become so bad that their wives were forced to work as maid servants in the houses of the Muslims. The Muslims state offered many concessions to convert the Hindus to Islam. Ibn-Battuta tells us that when a Hindu desired to become a Muslim, he was taken in the presence of the Sultan who gave him valuable clothes and articles of gold. The orthodox Muslims hated the Hindus. When the condition of Hindus improved a little during the reign of Khusrav, Birani wrote in sadness that the Hindus had again begun to live in comfort and had become happy. Brahmanas were not taxed to Jizya but Firuz Tughluq imposed Jizya even on the Brahmanas. Sikandar Lodi also started persecuting the Hindus and their condition became miserable.

In Hindu society, there were four principal castes (Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras) in order of rank and status, and indefinite number of so-called, mixed castes of varying status and the despised castes who were placed at the bottom of society. The old position of the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas was materially affected by the Muslim conquest of India. The Brahmanas lost their royal patronage. They got no job in administration. They were no longer prosperous. They lost the opportunity of earning a lot of money by officiating as priests in sacrifices. The result was that the new Smritis laid down that they could pursue agriculture through hired labour. In times of special distress, they could themselves cultivate the fields. Both agriculture and trade were the occupations of the people of all castes. In view of the change, the rank and file among the Brahmanas could not devote the same time and attention of Vedic studies and spiritual and intellectual pursuits as they used to do in the past. The new commentaries on the Smritis allowed them to give less time to their original occupation and content themselves with the study of just a part of the Vedas in which they were interested and in some cases with that of the Puranas alone. This was an admission of the decline of the Vedic studies during the Sultanate period and the importance of the Brahmanas. There was also a change in the attitude of the Brahmanas towards the Sudras. The latter were allowed to listen to recitations of the Puranas. It was made permissible to eat the food of certain Sudra castes under some special circumstances. The Sudras were allowed to engage themselves in some of the prohibited articles of sale, including meat.

The Kshatriyas lost not only political power but also the opportunity of earning their livelihood as soldiers. Except in Rajasthan, Central India and the Himalayan region in the North, West, many of the Kshatriyas sank into the status of local landlords serving as intermediaries in the revenue system organised by the Muslim rules. Guru Nanak has referred to the demoralisation of the Kshatriyas in these words: "The Kshatriyas have forsaken their religion and adopted the language of the Malechchas." This refers to the acceptance of service by the Kshatriyas under the Muslim rulers and their imitation of Muslim manners and customs. The changed position of the Kshatriyas had a direct impact on Hindu society as a whole. On account of the elimination of the normal rivalry of the Kshatriyas, the authority and personal influence of the Brahmanas increased among the Hindu masses. However, that is not wholly true because the Brahmanas themselves were weakened as they could not look upto political power for support and patronage. The Brahmanas continued to be the unofficial guides of Hindu society.

The picture of the condition of the Vaisyas and Sudras and the untouchable given by Al-Biruni seems to be exaggerated. The Sudras were divided into two categories. Those of the lower category were looked down upon as interior, as the untouchables. The number of mixed castes had gone up to 64 and those were divided into two groups. Those belonging to the Anuloma group (born of higher caste males and lower caste females) were considered twice-born and were entitled to the sacred thread and other sacraments. Those belonging to the Pratiloma group (born of lower caste fathers and higher caste mothers) were considered as belonging to low castes. The lower orders of society were discriminated against and even despised.

Detailed rules were prescribed to avoid contact with the despised castes. Purification by bathing with clothes on was prescribed for touching a Chandala. Different penances were to be undertaken by a Brahman for conversing, or sleeping on the same bed, or going in company with a Chandala, for looking at or touching a Chandala, for drawing water from a tank owned by Chandala, for drinking water from a well from which water had been drawn in a Chandala vessel, for eating the food of a Chandala or living for some time in the same house with a Chandala, for the entrance of a Chandala in the house of the Brahmana etc.

The caste rules and the rules governing the relations between the

various castes as laid down in the Shastras were not strictly followed. Some Brahmanas followed the occupation of the Kshatriyas and some Sudras, "in the teeth of the canonical rule forbidding the lower Varnas to take up the functions of the higher ones, assumed the Kshatriya's occupation of ruling and fighting." In the seventh century A.D., Sind was ruled by a Sudra dynasty. There were some Sudra niers in other parts of the country

The common practice was to marry in one's own caste but inter-caste marriage were not unknown. It was laid down in the Shastras that the marriage of girls of inferior castes with the twice-born or higher caste males was forbidden in the Kaliyuga, but such marriages did take place, though they were considered inferior and undesirable.

Although Al-Biruni does not mention the Kayastha caste, yet it had come into existence as an important caste in the were half of the 9th century A.D. The individuals of the caste had risen "to the highest public offices in different tracts" in the eleventh and following centuries.

It is true that the caste system was in many respects a cruel and immoral system but was so deeply rooted in Hindu society that it could not be shaken even by Medieval religious informers. Guru Nanak condemned the caste system as folly": but inspite of that it continued. Even the Sikh Gurus who were Khatri did not marry non-Khatri girls. Chitanya mood for removing all distinctions based on caste and religion but he himself observed practices and after his death Bengal Vaishnavism developed on traditional Hindu lines.

The caste system was in a sense a descriptive force but it was also a cohesive force in so far as it assured every Hindu off a recognised professional or occupational status. It promoted social integration in a limited sense as it assigned rights and duties to every individual and ensured a working harmony between the socio-religious and economic structures.

The view of Dr. K.M. Ashraf is that the caste system was "a contributory factor in the establishment of the foreign Muslim rule." (Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan, p. 108). The view of Habib and Nizami is that the social system of the Hindus and the invidious caste distinctions "rendered are whole military organisation rickety and weak" Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V, pp. 185-86). This view is not accepted by Prof. A.C. Banerjee. He points out that the first Arab raid in Sind took place in or about 643 A.D. and

the kingdom of Dahir fell in 712. The Caliphs failed to extend their dominions beyond Sind. The invasions of Sabuktagin and Sultan Mahmud resulted only in the annexation of a part of the Punjab and that too in the eleventh century A.D. The Indian campaigns of Mohammad Ghorī covered a period of over thirty years (1175-1206). It took the Khalijis and the Tughluks more than thirty years to accomplish the partial subjugation of South India. The Rajput princes successfully resisted the Muslims till the days of Akbar. The primary cause of the loss of independence by India was not the caste system but the lack of unity among the Hindu princes. It was due to their lack of political vision and the absence of the ideal of imperialism. They did not keep themselves abreast of the developments in the art of warfare in Central Asia. The Hindus also suffered from their superiority complex which kept them isolated from other countries.

The position of women in the Sultanate period was not as high as it used to be in ancient India. No woman was allowed to enjoy an independent status. Before marriage, she was under the strict supervision of her father. After marriage, she was under the supervision of her husband and after his death, she was under the supervision of her grown-up sons. However, it was laid down that a husband must honour his wife and provide her with gifts of ornaments and good food. If the husband went abroad, he was required to provide for the maintenance of his wife during his absence. Even if a husband left his wife for some valid reason, he was required to make provision for her maintenance. Even if a wife was guilty of adultery, she had to be provided for. If a husband ill-treated his wife, he was punished by the state. In spite of this, the position of women worsened during the Sultanate period. On account of fear from Muslims and other kinds of high-handedness, new rules were made to enforce early marriage. It was laid down that girls should be married at the age of 7-10 and at the most 12 years. A marriage at or after the age of puberty was considered a bad marriage and a matter of occupation of ruling and fighting." In the seventh century A.D., Sind was ruled by a Sudra dynasty. Here were some Sudra rulers in other parts of the country.

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The seclusion of Hindu women came in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Northern India. Child marriage and *Purdah* brought about the segregation of girls and a degradation in the condition of Hindu women during Medieval India.

Sati was common, but not compulsory. Al-Biruni tells us that a widow had to choose between two alternatives *viz.* remaining a widow all her life or burning herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband and she usually chose the latter alternative. Ibn Battuta who has given an eye witness account of Sati in Malwa, tells us that the custom was highly esteemed but not obligatory. According to him, under a law made by the Sultans of Delhi, permission had to be obtained before burning a widow.

The institution of Devadasis in principal temples was in existence. A large number of beautiful maidens were maintained for music and song in important temples in most parts of the country. Al-Biruni writes that while the priests were opposed to the institution of Devadasis, the kings maintained them for the sake of revenue.

Women were allowed to possess certain kinds of property, besides their Stridhana. Contrary to the Smriti rule of the perpetual dependence of women, princesses and queens wielded great political authority. There were instances of Hindu women who ruled over certain parts of the country at that time, particularly in Kashmir and South India. Queen Rudramba successfully ruled the Kakatiya kingdom for forty years. Polygamy was permitted. Rulers and princes were allowed to have many wives but the common people were monogamous.

Guru Nanak recognised the important role of women in the preservation and proper functioning of family and society and that raised the status of women in Sikh society and made them true partners of their husbands. This is what Guru Nanak said about women:

“Of a woman are we conceived.
Of a woman are we born,
To a woman are we betrothed and married,
It is a woman who keeps the race going.
Another companion is sought when the life-partner dies,
Through woman are established social ties,
Why should we consider woman cursed and condemned
When from women are born leaders and rulers?
From woman alone is born a woman,
Without woman there can be no human birth.
Without woman, O Nanak, only the True One exists.”

It cannot be said that there was no provision for the education of women at that time. Ibn Battuta writes that he saw at Hanaur 13 schools for girls and 23 for boys.

The birth of a daughter was not considered to be auspicious. It is stated that when a daughter was born to Amir Khusrau, the great poet, it was considered to be an unfortunate occasion.

The Hindus celebrated many festivals such as Holi, Dusehra, Raksha-Bandhan, Vasant, etc. The Muslim rulers put many restrictions on their celebration. Slavery was fairly common. Slaves were bought and sold. They were also distributed as ordinary gifts or presents among friends.

The customs of religious suicide by the Hindus prevailed during the Sultanate period. It was considered a great religious merit to commit suicide at certain sacred places such as Prayag and Kashi. Hindu

devotees cut off their limbs or their necks with sharp swords in the fulfilment of their vows before their duties. Ibn Battuta tells us that the Hindus committed suicide by drawing themselves voluntarily into the Ganges as an act of spiritual merit. The Hindus also went on religious pilgrimages to Prayag, Puri, Konarak, Gaya, Kashi, Dwarka and other holy places. Cow was worshipped by the Hindus all over India.

The Hindus had a high standard of honesty. The foreign travellers bear testimony to the high character of the Hindus. The people paid their debts without going to a court of law. If a debtor could not pay his debt during his life-time, he made it obligatory on his sons and grandsons to pay that amount. The people in general were superstitious. They had great faith in omens, lucky stars, auspicious and inauspicious moments and days. On the whole, the Hindus were honest and just. They were true to their word and their engagements. This is confirmed by Idrisi, Al-Biruni and Marco Polo.

The people were fond of music, dance and drama. The common musical instruments were flute, vina and drums. Stringed instruments and trumpets were common. Boys and girls played with balls and enjoyed the swing. Indoor games like chess, were common.

The people in general were vegetarian. That was due to the influence of Buddhism, Jainism and Vaishnavism. The killing of an animal was considered sinful. Slowly and slowly, the custom of meat-eating became popular with the Kshatriyas. The Sudras took meat openly. The Tantrikas and the Shaktas also encouraged the use of meat and fish. There were some people among the Hindus who ate the meat of the dead animals. They were considered to be very low in society and were forced to live outside the villages and cities. Slowly, the use of wine and opium became popular among the higher castes. People put great emphasis on the preparation of food. Special dishes were prepared on the occasion of festivals and other auspicious occasions. The common food was rice, wheat, barley, gram, etc. Great emphasis was put on the use of milk, butter, ghee and sugar in eating. Both the Hindus and Muslims were known for their treatment of guests.

People took great interest in decoration. People of all types and classes put on ornaments which were of different metals and qualities. Jewels were used in ornaments. Sometimes holes were made in the ears and nose to put on ornaments. People used various kinds of clothes.

They were made of cotton, wool and silk. The rich put on costly clothes while the poor used ordinary clothes.

The Muslim population of Northern India consisted of many elements. Mohammad Ghori came with Turkish adventurers and they were followed by other foreigners who came for employment. The army of Qutub-ud-Din Aibak was composed of Turks, Ghurids, Khorasanis and Khaljis. The Afghans served in the armies of Sultan Mahmud and Mohammad Ghori. Balban employed Afghans in suppressing the people of Mewat. A large number of foreigners came to India on account of Mongol invasions. The Mongol converts were called "New Muslims". The Abyssinians also came to India. Jamaluddin Yaqut who was liked by Queen Raziya, was an Abyssinian. The Abyssinians also seized the throne of Bengal in the late 15th century A.D. Mohammad Tughluq gave facilities to those who came from outside India. Barani tells us that people from different parts of the world came to India such as Khorasan, Iraq, Khwarizm, Seistan, Herat and Damascus. Barbosa tells us that foreigners from many lands such as Arabs, Mameluks, Persians and Khorasanis lived in the coastal towns, particularly in Gujarat. Many Arab traders settled in Chittagong. Men of learning from Arabia, Persia and Bukhara took up their residence at Agra during the reign of Sikandar Lodi. These various elements were united by the single faith of Islam. There were also inter-marriages among them. Social intercourse and the identity of political interests also united them and they permanently settled in India.

The Turks, the Persians, the Arabs, the Abyssinians and the Egyptians constituted an exclusive ruling oligarchy. The Turk was the most jealous guardians of the foreign aristocrats. He monopolised power in Hindustan and played the role of the leader of the Muslims in Asia. He believed in the policy of racialism and rigidly excluded the Indian Muslim community from a share in power and employment in the state. Balban openly despised "low-born non-Turks." As a very large number of persons migrated into India from Central Asia, there was a mixing up of the Muslims of different races and nationalities. During the reign of Alauddin Khalji, the policy of associating Indian converts with the administration was adopted. Alauddin Khalji appointed Malik Kafur as his Deputy. Firuz Tughluq's Prime Minister was Khan-i-Jahan Muqbul who was a convert from Hinduism to Islam.

To begin with, the number of converts to Islam must have been small but with the passage of time their number increased. Most of

the Hindus who were converted to Islam came from low castes and they were not admitted to the aristocracy of the Muslim conquerors. They were also not given any social and economic privileges.

There was a great deal of antipathy among the Muslims on account of their religious differences, particularly among the Sunnis and Shias. This rivalry and enmity continued throughout the medieval period. The Afghans were known as the sworn enemies of the Mughals and they looked upon them as usurpers. Foreign settlers in India preferred urban areas where military and civil employment was available to them. Some of them settled in rural areas to look after the lands assigned to them. However, the vast majority of the Muslims in rural areas were converts from Hinduism. Most of them belonged to lower castes and they continued to pursue their old occupations. They were not admitted to the social and political privileges of foreigners who were affiliated to the ruling class and had more money.

As regards social divisions among the Muslims, Barani refers to persons of low birth and high birth and contempt for the low-born. He refers to artists, merchants, clerks, soldiers, cultivators, Bazaris and Darveshes. In *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, there are references to religious scholars, mystics, physicians, astrologers, artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, caravan workers, courtisan, musicians, dancers, ouffoons, tavern-keepers, jugglers, story-tellers, jokers and wrestlers. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* refers to Amirs, Maliks, Ulama, Sadat, Mashaikh, beggars, artisans, money-lenders and cultivators. *Khavand Mir's Humayun Nama* refers to *Ahi-i-Daulat* comprising the royal family, nobility and the army. *Ahl-i-Saadat* comprising the Ulama, Qazis, the Sayyids, men of learning and men of letters and *Ahl-i-Murad* consisting of those who catered for pleasures comprising musicians, minstrels and dancers.

There was a privileged class in Muslim society consisting of the Umara or the nobility and the Ulama or the theologians together with other religious groups. The nobles (*Ahl-i-Suyuf* or "men of the sword") were mostly of foreign origin. They derived their nobility not from birth but from the favour of the Sultan. In the 13th century, many of them were initially slaves. The sons and relatives of the Sultan formed a special section of the nobility. They stood at the top of the hierarchy and enjoyed exceptional prestige and privileges.

The men of the sword constituted a military aristocracy. The title of Khan was the privilege of those who belonged to the highest grade.

Some of them were given the title of Ulugh Khan-i-Azam. The nobles of the second grade were given the title of Malik and those to the third grade were designated as Amir. The term Amir was also used in a generic sense to indicate all the holders of important military and civil posts. Military officers of lower ranks were called Sarkhails and Sipah-Salars but they were not recognised as nobles. On paper, there was a descending hierarchy from Khan downwards but in actual practice, it began to disrupt quiet early. In the 14th and 15th centuries, it lost all its significance.

The highest posts and large revenue assignments were monopolised by the nobles and that enabled them to live in luxury. Those at the top copied their royal masters. They lived in palatial houses, richly decorated and furnished. They used costly tapestries and carpets imported from foreign countries, gold and silver dishes, exquisite glass and china etc. They maintained in their stables fine horses. Many of them maintained elephants. A Fil-Khane was a familiar adjunct to the palaces of the big nobles. A large number of slaves and domestic servants, both males and females, were maintained by them. They were known for their lavish hospitality and charity. In theory, neither the office nor the revenue assignment to any noble was permanent or hereditary. There was no scope for the development of a hereditary nobility.

The Ahl-i-Qalam or 'men of the pen' formed the second privileged class. The term Ulama covered various groups such as theologians, ascetics, Sayyids, Pirs and their descendants. They did belong to the nobility but they enjoyed wealth and influence in varying degrees. Theologians were collectively known as Dastar-Bandan. They were shown a lot of respect although many of them did not deserve it. Barani puts the Ulma into two categories. Ulma-i-Akhirat (those who kept themselves aloof from worldly temptations) and Ulma-i-Dunya (those who coveted worldly prizes). The people did not enquire whether a particular theologian belonged to the first category or the second category. They respected every Ulama. The Ulama were regarded as the heirs of the Prophet. The laws of the Shariat were enforced by them and things illegal and not sanctioned by the Shariat were suppressed by them. The religion of God stood firm due to them. The best kings and the best nobles were those who visited the doors of the Ulama and the worst Ulama were those who visited the doors of the kings and the nobles. The Ulama were much superior in dignity and status to others.

The Sayyids claimed descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fatima. They commanded special respect in Muslim society. Even Timur protected the lives of Sayyids during his invasion of India although his policy was one of general slaughter. A Sayyid accused of misappropriating state revenue was discharged by Sikandar Lodi and was allowed to keep to himself his dishonest gains. The Sayyids put on a pointed cap (Kulah) and they were known as Kulah-Daran.

There was a widely prevalent belief in Pirs and Shaikhs as spiritual guides in Muslim society. Partly as a result of the decay of the spiritual and moral influence of the Ulama on account of their degeneration as a class, Pirzadas (descendants of Pirs) and Mukhdzadas (descendants of Shaikhs) took over a large extent the spiritual guidance of Muslims. They were practically worshipped. Some nobles of King Bahlol Lodi offered their heads to the son of their Pir if he chose to sit on them.

Next to the two privileged classes, there was a middle class whose income was from small holdings of land and services in lower posts under the state of the nobles. Energetic and ambitious men of the middle class found opportunities for ascending to the highest class, the nobility. If fortune turned against them, they were reduced to the level of cultivators of land.

The lowest strata of Muslim society were composed mainly of artisans, shopkeepers, clerks and petty traders. At the bottom there were Qalandars and others beggars. Most of them were of Hindu origin. In most cases, the change of religion did not involve any change either in their occupation or in the place of their work. They continued their old religious and social ideas and prejudices. Converts from Hinduism were looked down upon and non-Indian extraction was a special claim to distinction in society. The result was that many Hindus who were converted to Islam and became rich or well placed in life, claimed foreign origin in order to gain a higher social status.

The Muslims were essentially a city people. They dreaded village life. Their main profession was in the army and in the offices of the state. Some of them were engaged in trade and commerce. A large number of them were engaged as shop-keepers and teachers in primary schools. The Muslims of Indian origin followed handicrafts and petty trades in cities. A small number of them took to agriculture. There were also Muslim butchers, water carriers, corpse-washers engravers,

painters, illuminators and physicians. Some of them were calligraphists and copyists of the Quran. A large number of them were weavers, washermen, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and woodcutters.

Domestic servants and slaves were employed in the royal household and in every rich and respectable Muslim family. Barani writes that the royal slaves were supposed to confer power and dignity on the Sultan. They were employed not only in domestic and menial work but also in war. Barani was aware of the danger of the use of slaves for military and political purposes. He wrote, "Most of the slaves are wreckless and shameless. There can be no permanent security against their revolt." Afif tells us that after the death of Firuz Tughluq, his slaves "became so bold that they unhesitatingly severed the heads of the princes of his family and hung them at the Darbar Gate." In private households, there was practically no distinction between domestic servants and slaves. War was probably the most important source of the supply of slaves. Prisoners of war who were mostly Hindus, were reduced to slavery. Hasan Nizami tells us that after the victory of Kutbuddin Aibak at Kalinjar, 50,000 men were made slaves. Slaves were also imported from Africa and West and Central Asian countries. They were also procured from certain parts of India, Ibn Battuta tells us that slaves from Assam were worth several times more than others. There were markets for the sale of slaves. Barani refers to such a market in Delhi. The regulations of Ala-ud-Din Khalji fixed the prices of slaves. The prices of male and female and handsome men and women slaves varied. Ibn Buttuta found many slave girls in Bengal. A slave in the service of the Sultan was usually manumitted after some time and was provided with an honourable position. But that was not always so. Mohammad Ghori did not manumit either Qutb-ud-Din Aibak or any of his senior slaves. It is doubtful even if Balban was manumitted. Firuz Tughluq had 180,000 slaves but it cannot be said how many were raised to high rank. The promotion of a slave to high office was usually a political device and not a generous recognition of the principle of social equality. Begin dependent on his royal master, a talented slave could be used as a trustworthy agent and was, therefore, preferable to nobles.

A slave could be set free only when he and his master came to an agreement that the former would pay the latter an appropriate part of his earnings and the Qazi confirmed the agreement. The mere acceptance of Islam did not bring freedom to a non-Muslim slave

although in theory a Muslim could not be enslaved. There was a custom among the Muslims that if a slave girl gave birth to a child from her master she ceased to be a slave and became the wife of the master and she also got a share in the property of her master. Slavery was not considered to be bad in Muslim society. Some slaves took pride in being the slaves of some big person. They got every opportunity to rise in life.

Slavery made very little contribution of the economic development of the country. The Indian slaves were engaged in domestic and menial work and contributed merely to the luxurious style of living of their masters.

Muslim women in India did not possess the privileged position which was occupied by Arab women. They occupied a subordinate position and were at the mercy of their husbands who could marry at least four wives at a time according to the Shariat. No women in a Muslim household could claim to be the mistress of her house. However, Muslim women were treated well as the honour of the family was supposed to depend upon the chastity of womenfolk. They observed strict Purdah. Muslim women of the upper class did not go out without a Burkah. Muslims were very jealous about their wives and they did not allow even their near relations to look at them. Women of the higher classes were taught the Quran and other religious books. There were a number of highly educated and talented women in medieval India.

Women of the lower classes assisted their husbands in the cultivation of land. They looked after cows and bullocks, poultry-keeping, etc. They did not observe Purdah.

In one way, there was a fall in the morals of the Muslims in India. Drinking and gambling became very common among them. Balban imposed many restrictions on the use of intoxicants. The same was done by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. But in spite of that, the Muslims indulged in those evil habits in excess. There was some improvement during the reign of Mohammad Tughluq but corruption became rampant during the reign of Firuz Tughluq.

There were many causes for the decline of morals among the Muslims. One reason was that they acquired a lot of wealth without much effort. When the Muslims defeated the Hindu rulers, a lot of money fell into their hands. They got gold, silver, diamonds, etc. in large quantities. The result was that the Muslims wasted their riches

on beautiful women and drinking and that led to a decline in their morals.

Another reason was that the Sultans of Delhi did not possess high moral character. Many of them were really bad. They thought of nothing except beautiful women and drinking. Sultan Kaiqubad lived a licentious life. He required more beautiful women. The same was the case with Mubarak Shah (1316-20). He was also a man of no character. If such was the condition of the Sultans, their nobles tried to copy them and thereby lost their character.

Another cause was the system of among the Muslims. It is true that Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, Iltutmish, Balban, etc. were slaves but they became Sultans on account of their high character and qualities of head and heart. In course of time, the slave system became a curse. It became a symbol of greatness to have more and more slaves in every household. The result was that the number of slaves, both males and females, multiplied. Barani tells us that in his time price of a beautiful slave or eunuch ranged between 100 and 2000 Tankas. Ibn Battuta writes that he himself married four slave girls and also divorced them. Amir Khusrau also had many slave girls. As the Muslims kept in their households a large number of slave girls, that led to their decline in morals.

As a result of their permanent residence of India, the social life of the Muslims who came from foreign countries became Indianised in very many ways. There developed among the Muslim aristocrats something like the caste system, particularly in the matter of marriage. The Muslims borrowed from the Hindus the use of umbrellas and elephants as emblems of authority. They also borrowed from them the use of rings, necklaces and ear-rings. They started using rich spices for cooking food. They also borrowed from the Hindus the practice of chewing the betel-leaf. They borrowed headgears known as Chirra and Pag from the Rajputs. The Muslims were accustomed to the use of coarse cloth in their original homelands but when they came to India they started using fine cotton and silk fabrics. The Muslim rulers and nobles started employing professional jesters after the fashion of the Hindus. The Muslims came to have belief in astrology as the Hindus did. Some of the marriage ceremonies and customs of the Hindus were adopted by the Muslims. Music is forbidden in Islam. It was banned by Iltutmish but it was patronised by Balban and Firuz Shah Tughluq. It is said that when Firuz Shah Tughluq ascended the throne, he

entertained the public for, there weeks with music. The Qavvali music became popular among the Muslims.

The most important Muslim festivals were Id-ul-Fitr, Id-ul-Zuha, Muharram, Shab-i-Barat and Nauroz. The usual ceremonies among the Muslims were Aqiqa (shaving of head), Bismillah (Maktab), circumcision, marriage and funeral ceremonies. Among the ceremonies after death, Chihillum which was celebrated on the 40th day, was the most important. The Muslims believed in witch-craft and in necromancy. They also had faith in sorcery. The Muslims believed in miracles. Ambitious Pirs claimed supernatural powers. Some of them like Ahmad Bahari claimed Godhood and cried out "Anal-Haq" which means "I am God". It was the common practice among Muslim women to visit the tombs of saints for worship. Firuz Tughluq tried to stop that practice and even punished those who violated his orders but he was not successful. Both men and women among the Muslims held the Prophet's footprint (Qadam-i-Rasul) in great esteem, and even worshipped it.

II

RELIGIOUS CONDITION

According to the law of Islam, Hindus were not entitled to any kind of religious toleration. However, practical consideration compelled Mohammad-bin-Qasim, the conqueror of Sind and Multan to accord to the Hindus of those provinces the same treatment as was given to the Christians and Jews in Arabia and other parts of the Caliphate. This practice was also followed by the Sultans to Delhi. However, as the Quran and the Hadis did not permit the Muslim rulers to allow Hindus to live under a Muslim Government but to given them the choice between Islam or death, the Ulama pressed the Sultans from time to time that the Quranic law should be enforced in India and the Hindus should be compelled either to embrace Islam or be butchered in cold blood. There are many instances of such orthodox Ulama making this demand on the Sultans from time to time. During the reign of Iltutmish the Ulama made a united demand that the Hindus should be confronted with the choice of either embracing Islam or facing death. The Sultan referred the matter to his Wazir, Nizam-ul-Mulk Junnaidi. The Wazir agreed with the interpretation of law made by the Ulama but made the following recommendation: "At the moment India has

newly been conquered and the Muslims are so few that they are like salt in a large dish. If the above orders are applied to the Hindus, it is possible that they might combine and a general confusion might ensue and the Muslims, would be too few in number to suppress this general confusion. However, after a few years when in the capital and in the regions and the small towns, the Muslims are well established and the troops are larger, it will be possible to give the Hindus the choice of death or Islam."

In the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, Qazi Mughis-ud-Din of Bayana made a similar demand in these words, "God has himself commanded their (Hindus) complete degradation in as much as the Hindus are the deadliest foes of the Prophet. The prophet had said that they should either embrace Islam or they should be slain or enslaved and their property should be confiscated to the state. No one except the great Dr. Abu Hanifa allows the imposition of the Jizya upon the Hindus, while other scholars are of the opinion that there is no other alternative but death or Islam." It is clear from above that the Quranic law could not be enforced completely on account of the vast numerical superiority of the Hindus and their military and economic strength. However, writers like Barani continued to lament that the fundamental Islamic law were ignored by the Sultans of Delhi.

As the rigid Islamic law could not be applied in India, the Sultans of Delhi allowed the Hindus to live in India as *Zimmis* which means people living under a contract as second rate citizens, Jizya was imposed on them. It was fairly high and amounted to 48, 24 and 12 silver coins for the rich, the average and poor Hindus respectively. Monks, beggars, blind men and children were exempted. Originally, Brahmins were also exempted but Firuz Tughluq imposed Jizya even on them. The imposition of Jizya was considered as a badge of inferiority. The peculiar thing about the payment of Jizya was that the payers of that tax had to pay it personally to the Collector and behave humbly and obsequiously at the time of payment. The idea behind the payment of Jizya was that on account of sheer economic pressure and discriminatory treatment at the time of payment, the bulk of the Hindu's would one day be obliged to become Muslims, but that did not happen.

In addition to the payment of Jizya, the Hindus were not allowed to worship in open and carry on religious propaganda. Many legal disabilities were imposed on the Hindus. Their evidence in a court of

law against Muslims was not considered worth anything. In social matters, Hindus were not given the respect due to their rank or position in life. During the reigns of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi, the Hindus were not allowed to put on fine clothes, ride on horseback or even to possess good arms. Sometimes, they were not allowed to chew betel or to put on the same kind of dress as the Muslims did. Hindus were forbidden from building new temples or repairing the old ones. Not only during war but even during peacetime, Hindu temples were razed to the ground and their images were broken to pieces. Firuz Tughluq writes that at a time of peace, he rode to the village of Maluh where Hindus had gathered to worship by the side of a tank and a fair was being held. The Sultan not only stopped the worship and destroyed the idols but also ordered the worshippers to be put to death. Firuz Tughluq also razed the Keshav Deva temple at Mathura to the ground at a time when there was no rebellion or disturbance of peace. When the Hindus rebuilt it, it was destroyed by Sikandar Lodi. Many sacred shrines of the Hindus in Northern India were destroyed by the Muslim rulers and their broken images and statues can be seen in various Indian museums. Mosques, mausoleums and tombs were built on the sites of the ancient Hindu shrines out of the material of those very shrines.

Some of Sultans like Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi made it the chief object of their policy to convert the Hindus to Islam by offering them many inducements and exerting all kinds of pressure on them. Firuz Tughluq announced that whoever embraced Islam and repeated the Kalima would be exempt from Jizya. He himself writes that his policy was successful and many Hindus became Muslims. The Muslims considered it as their duty to propagate Islam and to convert Hindus to their religion. Some of them offered temptations to the Hindus to become Muslims and some of them used force in their Jihad (Holy war) against Hinduism. There were many Mullahs who called for such a Jihad against the Hindus. The result was that the Hindus during the Sultanate period did not enjoy religious freedom, liberty of conscience or worship.

No individual in the Sultanate was allowed to speak a word against the Prophet of Islam or point out any defect in Islam. Those who were guilty of such offences were put to death. In the reign of Sikander Lodi, a Brahman maintained that both Hinduism and Islam were true religions and he was put to death. Islam did not allow the

conversion of Muslim to Hinduism or the re-conversion of Hindu converts to Islam. Those who were guilty of seducing Muslims from their religion were put to death. A similar punishment was given to those who reconverted Hindu converts to Islam. The only Muslim ruler who showed exceptional toleration in this respect was Zain-ul-Abadin of Kashmir. Sometimes, Muslim rulers converted Hindus to Islam in large numbers. Sikandar, the ruler of Kashmir, converted thousands of Hindus to Islam and expelled those who refused to become Muslims. Jalaluddin of Bengal (1414-1430) forcibly converted hundreds of Hindus and persecuted the rest. The same was done by Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi.

Most of the Muslims in India were very orthodox in their religion and most of them were Sunnis. They considered the Shias also as their enemies like the Hindus. They suppressed the Shias, Karmanis, Mahadavis and other religious sects who were not Sunnis. Their leaders were persecuted in every way. Many of them were put to death. The Shia rulers of Bijapur and Golconda were persecuted. Firuz Tughluq particularly persecuted the Shias. Their religious books were burnt by him in public. No Shia was taken in the service of the state. When the Karmanians revolted during the reigns of Iltutmish and Razia, they were put down ruthlessly. Many Sufi saints were also persecuted.

Many causes were responsible for the conversion of Hindus to Islam. Some Hindus who came into contact with all powerful and prosperous Muslims, joined their faith. Some Hindus became Muslims to secure good jobs in the state. Some were tempted to become Muslims on account of the favours offered to them. Many Hindus were made Muslims through sheer force. Many Hindus of low castes became Muslims in order to raise their status, but their number was not large. There were very few Hindus who became Muslims as a result of the influence of the principles of Islam. One important reason was that there was as that time bitter hatred among Hindus against the Muslims who had persecuted them and also humiliated them. There were many orthodox Hindu and they were so much devoted to their religion that the question of their embracing Islam could not arise. Although for about five centuries the Hindus and Muslims lived near one another they remained separate. The Hindus had to suffer terribly due to religious and political causes but they continued to oppose the Muslims. There is hardly any example of this period when a Hindu family established a matrimonial alliance with a royal family. In the 14th

century, Tughril Shah forcibly married the daughter of Ranamal Bhatti and the consequences were disastrous. Feelings of enmity were aroused in the minds of the Hindus against the Muslims.

Not only the Sultans but other Muslims also considered it as their religious duty to convert Darul Harb (land of the Kafirs) into Darul Islam (land of the Muslims). Those Muslim rulers who tried to convert Hindus to Islam were praised by Muslim historians who belonged to the Ulama class. Instructions were issued to convert the Hindus to Islam. One of the reasons why that could not be done was that most of the time of the Sultans was spent in fighting against the Mongols and also in suppressing rebellions in various parts of the country.

There was a decline in the character of the Muslims. The Muslims invaders were brave people but as a result of their stay in India with a lot of money, power and luxury, they deteriorated. The early Muslim soldiers were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of Islam and were ready to fight battles for the conquest of India. However, the luxurious life in India took away their courage and bravery. Too much of drinking and beautiful women finished their bravery. They lost their spirit of self-reliance. They lost self-respect and courage. Instead of being an asset, they became a burden to the state. They began to shun hard work and fighting. They became big landlords. They had to pay only one-tenth of the produce to the state. As they got too much of wealth without exertion, their decline started.

The view of the Muslim rulers in India was that the Hindus were their bitter enemies and were always scheming and organising instructions against them. Hence, they left no stone unturned to suppress them. The Hindus were made to pay high taxes and those were collected with great severity. Ala-ud-Din Khalji exacted 50% of their produce from the Hindus of the Doab. Most of the Hindus became poor and they had to struggle very hard to make their both ends meet. Their standard of living fell. They got no job in the state. Very few opportunities were given to them for rise in life. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has criticised in very strong words the treatment meted to the Hindus during the Sultanate period. The circumstances were such that there was no scope for the development and progress of the Hindus. Dr. Ishwari Prasad does not agree with his view. He admits that the Hindus were very badly treated during the Sultanate period and they had to face many difficulties even to save their religion. It is also true that they had to pay high taxes and were also humiliated. However,

Dr. Ishwari Prasad maintains that the Hindus did their best to oppose the Muslims in every way. Moreover, all the Muslim rulers were not bad. It was during this period that many Hindu philosophers, writers, poets, saints and warriors appeared. It was during this period that we had saints like Ramananda, Chaotanya Mahaprabhu and Guru Nanak. Many Hindu poets added to the literature of India during this period. In spite of the various invasions, the Hindu did not lose their spirit. In spite of Muslim victories, Hindu culture continued to flourish. Their religion and philosophy continued to develop and grow. The writings of the Hindu scholars and saints of that period are a part of the great literature of the Hindus.

The Sufis challenged the orthodoxy of the Sunni. They believed in attaining God through love and devotion. The Muslims did not like the Sufis on account of their views. Most of the Sufis set up their own orders under their Shaikhs or Pirs. They spent all their time in devotion and prayers. The view of the Sufis was that the Ulama had not interpreted the Quran correctly and had given up the principle of brotherhood of Islam. The Sufis and Ulama opposed each other. The Ulama criticised the Sufis on account of their broadmindedness. The Sufis called the Ulama as opportunists who ran after the Sultans to win over favours. The Sufis did not revolt. They believed that good days were coming. The Sufis Pirs were respected by the Hindus.

There were many similarities between the Sufis and Saints of the Bhakti movement. Both of them put emphasis on the oneness of God and the desirability of devotion to God. They put all the emphasis on love to meet God. They realised the necessity of a Guru or Pir to achieve God. However, the Bhakti saints did not believe in the mysticism of the Sufis. They did not believe in remaining away from society and the common man. They wanted to solve the problems of the people and improving their condition.

Before the coming of the Muslims, there were Hindus, Buddhists and Jains in India. They had different ways of living, worship and action. During the period, the influence of Jainism had declined. It was confined to Rajasthan and North-West parts of India. During this period, many Jain scholars wrote many books on their religion. It is true that further decline of Jainism was stopped but they could not complete with Mahayanism, Saivism and Vaishnavism.

During the Sultanate period the Mahayan form of Buddhism was

prominent. Many scholars were born during this period. They put emphasis on Bhakti and not Nirvana. They acknowledged Buddha as the highest power. They worshipped Bodhisattavas. Buddhism had great influence in North-West and Central India. They had to struggle every day against the Brahman, Pandits and philosophers. As a result of that, their influence declined.

There were four important Sampradaya of Vaishnavism. Their names were Shri Sampradaya, Brahm Sampradaya, Rudra Sampradaya and Sanakadi Sampradaya. Ramanuja propagated Shri Sampradaya. His followers believed in Advaitvad. The original Guru of Brahm Sampradaya was Brahma but it was propagated by Madhavacharya. Its followers were Dvaitvadis. The followers of Rudra Sampradaya were Advaitvadi. It was propagated by Vishnuswami and Vallabhacharya. The followers of Sanakadi Sampradaya were Dvaita Advaitavadi. It was propagated by Nimbarkacharya.

There were many Sampradayas of Saivism. The important among them were Pasupat, Kapalik, Virsaiv, Shiv Sidhanta Lingayat, etc. Saivism was a very old religion and it spread in all parts of India. Many Sampradayas came into existence. The Saivas collected a lot of Knowledge. They started the cult of Vam-Marg. When the Muslims attacked India, at that time Vijarayani Buddhists and Kapalik Saivas were spread from Bihar to Assam and Kalinga. As a result of the preachings of Sankaracharya, Buddhism lost its hold. Sankar gave Gyan Marg for the Pandits and worship for the ordinary people. In this way, he won over people belonging to all walks of life. There were some pandits who regarded the views of Sankar as not attractive and they put emphasis on Bhakti.

The religious order to which the Yogis belonged was known by different names: Gorakh-Panthi (followers of the path prescribed by Gorakhnath), Nath and Kanphata (split-eared). The literal meaning of the word nath is master. The Yogis regarded Siva as Adi Nath (Original Master). There were nine human Naths who were really superior Yogis. To that category belonged Matsyendranath and Gorakhnath who were supposed to have attained immortality and as a consequence became objects of worship. The term Kanphata had reference to the practice of splitting the ears which tradition ascribed to Gorakhnath.

A Siddha was a Yogi who had attained the stage of perfection, a semi-divine stage, through the practice of Yoga. The Siddhas were

supposed to have acquired "extended life and miraculous power." Usually, the Yogis used the sacred thread. A secular Yogi was known as Rawal. He earned his living by begging, fortune-telling, singing and similar practices. There was another sect of Yogis known as Aipanthis, i.e., worshippers of the Mother Goddess. A female disciple of Gorakhnath named Bimla Devi was called Mai.

The Yogis were primarily devotees of Siva in the Bhairva form which represented his most terrible aspect, although some attention was paid to Vishnu. Sometimes Siva and Gorakhnath were identified. Gorakhnath was worshipped as a manifestation of Siva in some Saivite imples. In general, the Yogis worshipped many gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. They also worshipped nine Naths and 84 Siddhas living in the Himalayas.

The Kanphata order admitted not only Sudras and low caste recruits but also Muslims. Caste restrictions were not observed in respect of inter-dining among the Hindu Yogis, but the Muslim Yogis their food separately. Two principal vows had to be taken and those were to live by begging and to maintain celibacy.

The Gorakh-panthis succeeded in evolving an integrated system of thought and practice. They drew a clear line of distinction between a Yogi and a philosopher. Intellectual speculation had no relevance for a Yogi. He aimed at direct spiritual experience of the Truth on a supra-intellectual plane of consciousness. He devoted himself to the practice of various courses of self-discipline until he reached the stage of Samadhi which conferred upon a Yogi all that was worth knowing and attaining. It destroyed all fetters of Karma and all imperfections such as ignorance, ego, attachment, aversion and lust of life. That stage was called Nirvana.

The Yogi view of the world was not pessimistic. The world is not the creation of any Satanic force. It is not to be discarded as an evil. The constitution of the individual body is very important in the Yoga system.

The rigorous disciple of the Yoga system was very hard for the ordinary seeker. Hence, it degenerated to the level of self-delusion or even conscious fraud. Hatha Yoga became popular because it was supposed to bring miraculous powers which could be used for worldly purposes.

III

ECONOMIC CONDITION

During the Sultanate period, India was famous for her fabulous wealth and it was the story of her enormous riches which tempted Sultan Mahmud to invade India. There is truth in the statement of the contemporary writers of the vast plunder acquired by Mohammad-Bin-Qasim in Sind and Multan and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in India proper in the form of coined and the uncoined money, precious stones of various kinds and various other things valued at crores of rupees. Not only this, the Sultans of Delhi also acquired enormous booty in their expeditions, both in Northern and Southern India. It was the wealth of India which enabled them to incur heavy expenses on their wars and also give a lot of money to their soldiers and courtiers and likewise spend huge amounts on their palaces, households and the Darbar. The general prosperity of the country is testified to not only by Indians but also by foreign writers. Marco Polo visited Southern India between 1288 and 1293. Ibn Battuta travelled in most parts of India between 1334 and 1342. Mahuan, a Chinese, visited Bengal in 1406. The accounts of all of them show that India was prosperous both industrially and economically and there was "a great abundance of all the necessities of life."

The main source of the wealth of India was agriculture. In most parts of India, the soil was fertile. There was copious rainfall and irrigation facilities were provided since early times and were systematically reinforced.

The economic outlook of the peasantry was determined neither by the state, nor by the intermediaries, nor by the village community, but by tradition. They produced and consumed practically in the same way as their ancestors had done. The economic measures of Ala-ud-Din Khalji disturbed the old equilibrium for a few years and that also for a limited area, but the *status quo* was restored after his death. Agricultural produce was intended mainly for local consumption although a part of its made its way to the cities and even abroad. Prices were generally determined by local factors such as abundance or scarcity of rain. Cultivation was a family enterprise and all the members of the family participated in it.

During the Sultanate period, there was probably more than enough land for cultivation. To quote Moreland. "There was fertile land

to spare, waiting for men with the resources needed to bring it under the plough." The state was anxious to encourage people to bring more land under cultivation but without much success. The irrigation projects of Firuz Tughluq benefited only a limited area in the neighbourhood of Delhi. The people of the Doab were penalized by Ala-ud-Din Khalji for their industry and the fertility of their land. In one way, the state actually injured agricultural production. That happened when the royal troops marched from one place to another and that was very often. Amir Khusrau had described in these words the destruction brought about by the royal troops, "the earth was denuded of all grass and the river dried of water and thanks to the compulsory requisitions of the royal party, the people were left without any food for themselves or grass and fodder for their animals."

In the Punjab, there was a widespread extension of cultivation in the 15th century as a result of the use of the Persian wheel. Malik Muhammad Jaisi refers to the use of the Persian wheel in Avadh under the name of Rahat. Ibn Battuta mentions the use of Persian wheels on the river Meghna in East Bengal. Babar has mentioned the use of Dhenkli for a constant supply of water. The cultivators tilled the soil in the same way as their ancestors had done for centuries using primitive ploughs and bullocks and crying for rains during the dry season.

There are references to the extensive cultivation of food grains and other crops, nurture of fruit trees and rearing of domestic animals. Ibn Battuta refers to the fertility of the land and production of two crops per year. The crops mentioned by him are millet, peas, wheat, barley, chick-peas and lentils. Sesame and sugarcane were cultivated with the autumn crops. Rice was sown three times a year. There was an abundance of fine rice at Sirsuti, sugar at Kanauj, wheat and betel-leaf of Dhar and wheat at Marh near Gwalior. He mentions fruits like mangoes, jack fruits, black berries and three varieties of oranges. Mahuan gives along list of cereals and vegetables including rice, millet, sesamum and beans, ginger, mustard, onion and garlies, cucumber and egg-plant. He also mentions coconut, betel-nut, banana, jack fruit, promegrante, sugarcane and honey. Barbosa found in Bengal cotton fields and sugarcane fields, ginger and pepper plantation, gardens of fruit trees like oranges and lemon etc. White sugar was produced in Bengal from sugarcane. There was an abundance of horses, cows, sheep and domestic fowls.

Firuz Tughluq laid gardens in the neighbourhood of Delhi and at some other places. That promoted a general improvement in quality of fruits. Improved methods of gardening and fruit cultivation were adopted in parts of Central India and Rajasthan. Importance was attached to horticulture. There are references to various kinds of flowers in the works of Amir Khusrau and Malik Mohammad Jaisi. Fragrant wood like sandal wood and aloes were grown in different parts of the country.

There are scattered references to prices of agricultural commodities. Fluctuations in prices were caused by natural calamities, administrative and political changes, difficulties of communication and transport and the general economic forces. In the time of Balban, backed bread was sold at two sets a Jital. In the reign of Jalal-ud-Din Khalji, corn sold at one Jital per ser on account of famine. Under Ala-ud-Din Khalji, prices per maund were wheat 7..... Jitals, barely 4 Jitals, paddy 5 Jitals, pulses 5 Jitals, lentils 3 Jitals sugar (white) 100 Jitals, mutton 10 Jitals, ghee 16 Jitals, etc. Prices were higher during the reign of Mohammad Tughluq. Under Firuz Tughluq prices of commodities came down. Wheat was 8 Jitals per maund, barley 4 Jitals per maund, pulses 4 Jitals per maund and lentils 4 Jitals per maund. Prices rose when rainfall was scarce. When Firuz Tughluq invaded Sind, the price of corn varied between 3.2 and 2 Jitals per ser. Prices were exceptionally low in the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. One Bahloli which was 1.6 Jital in value could buy 10 maunds of corn. 5 sers of oil and 10 yards of coarse cloth. All other commodities were also cheap.

In the outlying provinces, the prices were determined by local conditions rather than by fluctuations in the upper Ganges valley and the Delhi region. Ibn Battuta tells us that the prices of commodities in Bengal were cheaper than in any other country visited by him. He was told by an inhabitant of Bengal that he could maintain himself with his wife as servant for full one year at a cost of 8 Dirhams (small silver coins), Bengal was known as "a paradise of plenty" in the mid-14th century. A Chinese writer of the 14th century tells us that 46 baskets of rich could be bought for one cowrie in Orissa.

Centuries before the advent of the Turks, India was industrially well organised. There were guilds and craft in the villages and towns which carried on widespread commerce. Even without the help of the state, those institutions survived the shocks of foreign invasions and internal revolutions. There were two kinds of industries—those under

state patronage and those which were purely private. The Sultans had their own Karkhanas or workshops in Delhi which employed thousands of weavers of silk and other stuffs. The Karkhanas were maintained by the Sultans for the manufacture of articles for use in the royal household. The number of Karkhanas probably varied in the different reigns. They were placed in-charge of a noble of high rank who was assigned by superintendents appointed directly by the Sultans. It is said about the Karkhanas of Mohammad Tughluq that the manufactured robes of honour numbering two lacs every year to be distributed among the nobles and fine muslim and other articles to be sent as gifts to other monarchs. About 500 workers in gold brocade and silk were employed for the manufacture of golden tissues for brocades to be used by the ladies of the royal harem or given away as presents to the Amirs and their wives. Other articles to be used in the royal household like caps, shoe, curtains, tapestry, waistbands, saddles, embroideries, etc. were also prepared in the Karkhanas. Arif tells us that there were 36 Karkhanas in the reign of Firuz Tughluq. The Sultan attached great importance to them and said, "Just as lakhs of revenue are collected in the provinces, similarly lakhs are collected in the Karkhanas. The turn-over of a Karkhana is not less than the turn-over of the city of Multan." Afif's father and uncle were incharge of two Karkhanas and Afif himself worked with them. According to Afif the Karkhanas were divided into two categories. Ratibi Karkhanas provided daily food for men and animals. Ghair-i-Ratibi Karkhanas dealt with commodities produced by human labour. The monthly expenditure of the Ratibi Karkhanas was 160,000 Tankas exclusive of salaries. Karkhanas were incharge of water supply department, departments for provision of lights and scents, departments for looking after stables, breeding of horses and looking after elephants, oxen, mules, camels, etc. The Ghair-i-Ratibi Karkhanas looked after wardrobes, baths, standards, library, furniture and tents, armour and war material, jewels, etc. Some of the Karkhanas were factories in the literal sense while others purchasing agencies. Greatest attention was paid to luxury goods and war materials.

As regards private industries, the Sultans followed the policy of *laissez faire*. The only exception was made by Ala-ud-Din Khalji who imposed prohibition on the sale of brocade and gold cloth, finer varieties of silk of Delhi and Cambay and certain varieties of cloth. His purpose was to control the use of luxuries by the nobility. The most important industries were the textile industry, including the

manufacture of cotton, woolen and silk cloth, dyeing industry, printing industry, calico printing industry, etc. The other industries were sugar industry, metal work industry, paper industry, stone and brick works industries and industries such as inlay of stone work, enameling, etc. There were minor industries like shoe-making, manufacture of liquors, brass and other metal and clay industries.

In the manufacture and export of textile goods, Bengal and Gujarat were in the forefront. They had the advantage of harbour facilities and the old tradition of commercial relation with foreign countries. Mahuan tells us that ocean-going ships which carried goods to foreign countries were made in Bengal. Chittagong was a great port but Satgaon was a small port. Cambay was a great industrial city and also a great port.

There is a lot of evidence regarding the abundance, variety and high quality of the textiles of Bengal. Amir Khusrau was impressed by the stuffs presented by Bughra Khan, the father of Kaiqubad, who was the Governor of Bengal. Khusrau "describes a piece of cloth the texture of which was so fine that the body was visible through it; one could fold a whole place of this cloth inside one's nail, yet it was large enough to cover the world when unfolded." The exaggeration in the language of the poet cannot be doubted but the fact remains that Bengal produced the finest varieties of cloth. In the 14th century, Ibn Battuta found cotton fabrics of the finest texture, 15 yards in length, selling at 2 silver coins (Dinars). Mahuan found several varieties of fine cotton fabrics and silk handkerchiefs and gold-embroidered caps. He also refers to mulberry trees and silk worms. The excellence of Bengal textiles is also praised by other writers. Barbosa tells us that the high quality of Bengal textiles secured for them a good market in Malacca and Ormuz.

Varthema tells us that Cambay in Gujarat contributed about half the total textile exports of India. Barbosa says that Cambay had skilled craftsmen of many kinds who manufactured coarse and fine varieties of woven white cotton fabrics, printed cotton stuffs, silk cloth, coloured velvets, satins, thick carpets, beautiful quilts, quilted articles of clothing, etc. Cambay textiles found an extensive market in Western Europe, South Africa and South Asia (Burma, Malaya and Indonesia).

There were industries based on metal work. There were iron, mercury and lead mines but their output was not adequate. The industry of sword-making was well established. There were several varieties of

Indian swords. Mahuan refers to the manufacture of steel guns, knives, scissors, basins and cups in Bengal. Ornaments of gold and silver were often decorated with excellent inlay work and they were used by richer classes. Barbosa tells us that there were expert goldsmiths at Cambay who did very fine work. There was also the manufacture of jewellery, coral work and ivory work.

Building industry developed by the workers in stone, brick and wood. They were patronised by the state. It is said that Ala-ud-Din Khalji employed 70,000 such workers. Firuz Tughluq trained 4000 slaves as skilled masons. Babar employed 2000 stone-cutters in the construction of buildings at Agra and other places. Wood-work of high quality was required for the construction of oceans going vessels, boats, doors of houses, seats and bedsteads of the rich people. There was also the paper industry but its production was not adequate and the quality of paper produced was not of a high order. In Bengal, white paper of the Chinese variety was made from the bark of a tree. Nicolo Conti refers to the use of paper in Gujarat.

Sugarcane was cultivated in different parts of Northern India for the production of sugar of which there were several varieties. Soft sugar was used by the rich and unrefined sugar (Gur) was used by the poor. Bengal produced sugar not only for its own consumption but also for export. Mahuan refers to the export of sugar from Bengal.

Leather was used for saddles and bridles of horses, scabbards of swords covers of manuscripts, shoes, water buckets and for packing of sugar for the export etc. Dressed skins of different kinds of animals were exported in larger quantities to other countries from Gujarat. Workers in leather industry formed a separate caste known as Chamars.

During the Sultanate period, the volume of trade, both internal and external, carried on by Indians, was enormous, India had commercial relations with the outside world. The value of her exports was much greater than that of her imports and the balance of trade was always in her favour. That is the reason why it was generally believed that "Merchants of all countries never ceased to carry pure gold into India, and to bring back in exchange commodities of herbs and gums."

There was a large volume of internal trade. Among the important centres of trade in Gujarat, Barbosa mentions the town of Limodara and the sea port of Rander. Multan and Lahore were clearing houses

for trade in the North-Western region. There were good roads which were constructed mainly for the use of the army but were also used by the traders for the transport of commercial goods. There was a road from Delhi to Daulatabad which covered a distance of 40 days' journey. Travel was often insecure and that hindered trade.

In villages and small towns, petty business was in the hands of shop-keepers, itinerant dealers, pedlars and middlemen who were professionals. Large scale business was in the hands of special groups or particular communities. The Multanis and the Banias of Gujarat were the most important business communities of Northern and Western India. Internal trade was almost entirely in the hands of Hindu merchants while foreign trade was mostly in the hands of Muslim merchants and some in the hands of Hindus. When Ibn Battuta visited Cambay, he found foreign merchants forming the majority of the population of that city. Barbosa tells us that at Cannanore Hindu and Muslims merchants sailed in their own ships as far as Ormuz. The Hindu Chettis of Coromandel traded with Burma and joined the colony of foreign merchants engaged in wholesale business at Malacca. Orissa had a prosperous overseas trade with South-East Asia till the 15th century. The Muslim traders had certain advantages in foreign trade. Most of the foreign countries were ruled by Muslims and they patronised Muslim merchants. Muslim merchants were required to pay only 50% of the import duties levied on Hindu merchants. The Hindus themselves were responsible for the loss of their share in foreign trade. Foreign travel was prohibited for the Hindus and those who violated that rule were punished. The result was that the Hindus developed a sort of aversion towards sea voyages and thus were eliminated from overseas trade. However, the Hindu merchants of Malabar and Coromandel did not care for those prohibitions and carried on foreign trade.

The Banjaras of Rajasthan played an important part in transporting agricultural and other products from one part of the country to another. Their operations were on a large scale. They employed hundreds and thousands of oxen in their carts and wagons. On those roads which were insecure, their caravans were guided and guarded by the Bhats of Rajasthan.

Brokers played an important role in commercial transactions. They charged their commission from both the sellers and the purchasers. The bankers provided capital in the form loans and they

also accepted deposits. Money-lenders also played their part. They lent money on interest through bonds. It appears that the rate of interest varied between 10% and 20%. Both the Hindus and Muslims did the work of lending on interest although the Shariat did not allow the Muslims to charge interest.

Foreign trade was carried on both through land routes and sea routes. Land route was interrupted for some time on account of the Mongol invasions but after their invasions were over trade flourished in musk, furs, arms, falcons, camels and horses. Horses were imported from foreign countries in large numbers. In the time of Mohammad Tughluq, a fixed tax of 7 Tankas per horse had to be paid on the border of Sind. Another amount had to be paid at Multan. It is mentioned in the *Adi Granth* that the Nawab of Sultanpur was thinking of purchasing horses in Kabul.

As regards foreign trade by sea, two routes were used on the West. Goods were carried either along the Persian Gulf and from there to Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean or by sea routes to the ports of the Red Sea and from there to the Mediterranean through Egypt. From Alexandria, Indian goods were taken by Italian merchants and they distributed them in Europe. Ormuz was the principal centre of trade by the first sea route. It was the entrepot of trade of Hind and Sind. Aden and Jiddha occupied the same position in the trade by the second route.

The ports of Malabar were the principal clearing houses for the Indian goods and Cambay occupied an important position. Goods were taken from Cambay to Ormuz and Aden and *vice-versa*. The principal exports were cotton and linen cloth, carpets, drugs, gems, seed, pearls and carnelians. The principal imports were copper, quicksilver, vermilion, rose water, gold, silver, woollens, coloured velvets, corals, lead, alum, saffron, etc.

Cambay had trade relations with East Africa. Barbosa tells us that ships from Cambay visited Makdashau with cloths and spices and they brought gold, ivory and wax. Cambay cloth and beads were exported to the ports of Melinde, Mombasa and Kilwa and from there they were taken by local Muslim merchants to other places in Africa. Cambay cloth was sold at the African ports and African ivory was sold in Gujarat.

There was a regular trade between India and China. Chinese

ships visited the Malabar ports in the 14th century. Malacca was the most important international port in South-East Asia. The next was Pegu. Cambay and Rander in Gujarat participated in the trade with Burma and the Islands of South-East Asia.

The merchants of India were known for their honesty and were welcomed and respected everywhere.

It is worthy of notice that to begin with the Sultans of Delhi did not pay much attention to economic matters as they were very busy in the work of conquest. Balban was the first Sultan who was able to establish law and order in the country. He was also the first to think of economic matters. Kampil and Patiali regions were cleared of robbers and thieves. That helped agriculture and trade. Merchants were able to go from one place to another without fear. Many changes in the economic field were made during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji. There was a terrible famine during the reign of Firuz Tughluq as a result of which the prices of goods increased. The condition of the people in the Shivalike was so bad that the Hindus of those areas migrated to Delhi and about 20 or 30 persons committed suicide by drowning in the Jamuna river. It appears that the state did not perform its duty of saving the people.

Ala-ud-Din Khalji was an energetic Sultan and he understood the economic problems. In his ambition to conquer the world, he devised an economic plan. Land revenue was reorganised in his reign and fixed. His Naib Wazir-i-Mumalik followed the policy of crushing completely the Hindus and making them powerless. He succeeded in suppressing the Hindu of the Doab. He charged from them 50% of their produce as land revenue. In addition to that, he levied house tax, grazing tax, etc. Most of the burden fell on the peasants as they were Hindus. Most of the Muslims were either in administration or in the army. An achievement of the economic reforms of Ala-ud-Din Khalji was the control of the prices in the market. That led to a fall in the prices of the goods to such an extent that one soldier along with his horse could live on 234 Tankas for the whole year. Corn was stocked in the granaries of the state and it was available at the time of famine. Ibn Battuta tells us that he himself saw with his own eyes heaps of rice collected by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. As the economic reform of Ala-ud-Din Khalji were not based on any sound economic principle, they disappeared after his death and the merchants were happy because they could charge whatever price they liked.

The economic policy of Mohammad Tughluq was not successful at all. His token currency failed. The economic condition of the country was satisfactory between 1351 and 1388 A.D. The irrigation projects of the state helped agriculture. The income of the state from land revenue increased. There was an increase of six crores and eighty five lacs of Tankas in the income of the state. From Doab alone, the state got an increase of 85 lacs of Tankas as income. As the prices of commodities were low, the rich were able to save a lot a money, Afif writes that when Malik Shahi Shahana died, 50 lacs of Tankas and many valuable things were found from his house. The rates were so low that the people could travel from one place to another without much expense. Labour was cheap at that time. Afif writes that there was no dearth of gold or silver for anybody. There was no woman who did not put on an ornament. Every house had its own good furniture. The view of Dr. Ishwari Prasad is that there in much exaggeration in the account of Afif.

Towards the end of the 14th century, India had to pass through a terrible economic crisis. The Tughluq Empire began to disintegrate. In 1398, Timur attacked India and after defeating the Sultan of Delhi, he looted to his heart's satisfaction the people of Delhi and also the surrounding areas. He took away with him a lot of gold, silver and precious stones. As a result of his invasion, the city of Delhi was completely deserted. Timur took away so much of wealth from India that no much was left in Delhi and the adjoining areas. Wealth remained only in the outlying provinces. Writing about Bengal in 1406, Mahuan says that the rich people of Bengal build ships and carried on foreign trade through them. Many people were engaged in trade and many more in agriculture. The people had their own professions. The coin used was known as Tanka. It was equal to two Chinese coins in weight. He also says that the people produced two crops of rice in a year. The other commodities of common use such as wheat etc. were found in plenty. There were many kinds of fruits.

Thus trade and industry in India were directed primarily for the satisfaction of the demands of the upper classes who had plenty of money to pay for them. They spent wrecklessly. Amir Khusrau wrote that the "stream of gold flows through the majestic city of Delhi." However, the poor people suffered. Amir Khusrau was right in saying: "Every pearl in the royal crown is but the crystallized drop of blood fallen from the tearful eyes of the poor peasant."

In the Sultanate period, wealth was unevenly distributed. It was concentrated in the hands of a small minority. The Sultans and their nobility and high officials were enormously rich and the same was the condition of Hindu Rajas and Chiefs and top-ranking Hindu merchants and bankers. The salaries of the important civil and military officers were very high. The officials and nobles lived in big mansions. They rolled in wealth and luxury. They were surrounded and attended by servants. The middle class was also fairly well-to-do. However, the masses who formed the bulk of the population, were poor and did not have enough to satisfy their needs. The demands of the Government on them were very high and the tiller of the soil was not left enough to sustain himself. His wants were few and he was able to live somehow in normal times but when rains failed or there was a destruction of crops due to military expedition. They suffered terribly and died in hundreds. The Government did not nothing to save them.

9

The Administration

I

The Sultanate of Delhi was a theocracy. The Sultan was the Caesar and Pope combined in one. It is not correct to say that there was a secular state at that time. Islam was the religion of the state and no other religion was recognised. All the sources of the state were meant for the protection and spread of Islam. Dr. Qureshi is of the opinion that the Sultanate of Delhi was not a theocracy because of the rule of the ordained priesthood which was an essential feature of theocracy, was absent. This view ignores the fact that under the Sultanate of Delhi the canon law was supreme and the civil law was subordinate to it. It is true that Ulemas in India were not ordained and hereditary but it cannot be denied that they exercised great influence on the affairs of the state and they saw to it that the Quranic law was applied by the rulers of the country. The ideal of a Sultan was to convert all the people to Islam and thus turn Dar-ul-Harb or infidel land into Dar-ul-Islam or Muslim lands. As a matter of fact, all kinds of facilities were given to the people to become Muslims. If in spite of this, the whole of India was not converted to Islam that was partly due to practical difficulties.

According to Dr. Habibullah, "The chronicles tend to give us an impression that the Sultanate was a truly Islamic state constantly striving to make its policy conformable to the shariah. That it was scarcely so in actual practice, will have been gathered from the last few chapters. We have noticed the un-Islamic character of the kingship: Barani admits that duniyadari," of which kingship is the highest perfection, is absolutely opposed to 'dindari'. After tracing the process by which the pagan institution of monarchy had crept into Islam, he concludes that sovereignty is never possible without practising non-

Islamic customs. Conscientious ecclesiastics might delude themselves that the Sultan really existed for protecting the faith and upholding the shariah; but it requires little stressing that the decisive factor in his actions was the law of force and expediency. In summing up his account of the origin and nature of kingship, Barani remarks, the meaning of kingship is power *istila*, whether obtained by lawful means or by force; even the older pagan law dynastic legitimacy finds no place in the present kingship. The shariah, in ordinary practice, was no more respected than any other law. Barani admits that capital punishment of Muslims which, he adds, was contrary to the Sacred Law, was necessary for the exigencies of better government. Similarly, the law of inheritance, the strict distinction between *halal* and *haram*, and many other well-known injunctions were violated; the ecclesiastics protested but were constrained to find excuse. The well-known prohibition of the shariah regarding the taking and giving of interest on monetary transaction was openly disregarded; Amir Khusrau mentions the rate of interest at one *jital* per month for the principal sum of one *tanka* which, when agreed upon by the parties on a written bond, had a legal sanction and was enforced by the *qazi*. Of the four conditions which Barani advises the king of bear in mind when issuing decrees (*zabita*h), one in that if any of the proposed ordinances is found contrary to the shariah, it need not be withdrawn but, as an evil necessity is to be retained not longer than is necessary.

“Even the majority of the ulema, the guardians of the sacred law, was utterly materialistic in outlook and opportunist in conduct. They entered into an unholy alliance with the secular authorities and by distorting the rules of the shariah, found sanction for the Sultan’s pagan practices. Even traditions from the Prophet were concocted to give the king’s despotism a moral backing. They held out that the Sultan’s office was only slightly inferior to that of the Prophet and his sanctity almost equal to that of God. To suit the Sultan’s convenience his religious duties were sought to be confined to such matters as leading the prayers, making endowment for the ulema and religious establishments and dispensing justice, while the most flagrant breaches of the shariah rules like drinking non-observance of the fast etc. were condoned. The ulema even authorised him to appropriate the people’s wealth whenever he desired.” (The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 348-50).

The administrative organisation of the Delhi Sultanate was a product of many factors. The Sultans of Delhi had before themselves

the model of the government of the Caliph. They had also inherited some of the practices and convention of the race to which they belonged. They also found in India a well-established administrative system from which they could borrow. The result was that the Sultans had to assimilate most of the machinery of government already existing in the country. Thus, the Government of the Sultans of Delhi has rightly been described as a Turko-Persian system in an Indian setting.

The foreign elements in the Sultanate consisted of the Central Ministry, their military system and modifications of the taxation policy as well as tax structure of the country to some extent by the enhancement of the rate of land revenue and by addition of certain new taxes such as Jizya, pilgrimage tax, heavier duties on Hindus and other non-Muslims than on the Muslims merchants. All non-Muslims were deprived of the status of citizenship and they were accepted merely as Zimmis. They had to obtain their security of life and property by payment of a money consideration and their rights to perform their religious duties by payment of religious taxes. Moreover, all higher positions carrying large powers as well as emoluments were reserved for Muslims only. There was no opening for the Hindus. While the outer framework of the administrative machinery, particularly in the lower rungs of the hierarchy, would seem to have been built on the earlier pattern, the spirit and policy of the Turkish Government was basically transformed. There is no merit of substance in the contention of some writers that the Delhi Sultanate was a democracy. This claim is refuted by the simple fact that the Hindus who formed a majority of the population, had absolutely no say in the administration of the country.

It is true that the Caliph or the Khalifa was the king of all that Muslims in all parts of the world but with the spread of Islam in various parts of the world it became practically impossible to enforce the authority of the Khalifa everywhere. However, the fiction of the unity of the Khalifa was maintained. This continued in spite of the fact that the last Khalifa was put to death by Hulaku Khan the Mongol leader. What was actually done was that the Sultans of Delhi described themselves as the Deputy or Assistant of the Khalifa. They received investiture from the Khalifa and inscribed his name on their coins and also got the Khutba read in the name of the Khalifa. Ala-ud-Din Khalji refused to recognise the authority of the Khalifa and Qutub-ud-Din Mubarak himself took up the title of the Caliph. Excepting these two

rulers, the other Sultans of Delhi recognised the normal authority of the Khalifa. However, actually no Sultan of Delhi bothered to obey the Khalifa. No Sultan believed that he got his authority from the Khalifa. Sultans of Delhi considered it more profitable to maintain their contacts with the outside Muslim world and no wonder they recognised the nominal authority of the Khalifa.

The Sultan was the head of the Delhi Sultanate. He was the source of all power and authority. He was the sovereign head and commander of the army. His will was law. It was the duty of everyone to obey his command. Generally, the form of an election was maintained by the Sultans of Delhi. The nobles and the landlords and the most influential Ulema at the capital agreed upon a candidate and declared him as the Sultan. Afterwards, a formal oath of allegiance was taken by them and later on by people. It cannot be denied that the procedure of election was merely a fiction. The candidate had already decided the issue by conquest in battle and by overwhelming force. Of course, it had the advantage of being legal and conforming to the wishes of the jurists and the people. It is true that an attempt was made to make the choice from the ruling family but the hereditary principle was not always followed. Although Jalal-ud-Din Khalji had already seated himself on the throne, the outward form of election was maintained. Many people did not take the oath of allegiance to the Khaljis for some time but they did so after some time.

The majority of the jurists believe that the Sultan could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice was considered to be a sufficient cause for dethronement. All writers agree that a man suffering from a mental or physical infirmity could not continue to be a sovereign. Great importance was attached to the loss of power of judgement and eye-sight. The very fact that a large number of Delhi Sultans were removed from the throne shows that they were not considered to be sacrosanct. It is true that there were intrigues and rebellions even against competent rulers but those had not much chances of success.

The Sultan was required to be a person capable of dealing with the problems of the state. He was to be in full possession of physical and mental faculties. Ordinarily, the ruler was expected to be a male and no wonder the election of Sultana Razia created a lot of trouble.

It is true that the absence of a hereditary principle of succession

had its defects but it enabled a large number of brilliant men to be the rulers of Delhi. It was not an easy

"He was the fountain-head of the political authority; kings and tribal chiefs were in theory subordinate to him, and his sanction alone could provide a legal basis for their power. The maddest of political adventurers would think many times before he directly defied the Caliph's authority. This is why the Memluk Sultans of Egypt had considered it necessary to consecrate their authority with the sanction of the titular chief of the Islamic world and this is why the ruler to the all-conquering Ottoman Turks resorted to a legal fiction of doubtful validity in order to assume the position of the Khalifah."

thing to occupy the throne of Delhi and no wonder fools and pleasure-seekers could not afford to remain long on the throne. The Delhi Sultanate required all the care and work that a man could give. The rough and ready method of selecting the Sultan worked well and the right man was found at the right time.

It is true the Sultan was recognised as the supreme interpreter of the law but actually he could not go against the recognised interpretation. It was not possible for him to disregard *limā* or preponderant concurrence of opinion on any point. Where the jurists disagreed, the Sultan could make his own decision but while doing so he was to get the advice of the learned jurists. The Sultan was expected not to contravene the Sharia while making laws. The sovereignty of law was not merely a legal fiction. The Sultans of Delhi showed remarkable respect for the Sharia in their public dealings. It is true that there were certain violations but in many cases even the mighty Sultans humbled themselves before the majesty of the law.

The Sultans enjoyed great prestige. They were considered to be the heart of the system. Their existence was the primary necessity of social life. Without a ruler, all order was to vanish and the very existence of the human race could be endangered. It was his sword which cleansed the world of anarchy and of evil. A just Sultan could expect to find a place under the banner of the Prophet on the day of reckoning. It was the duty of the Sultan to give full protection to the people to develop themselves.

The Sultan was expected to protect Islam. He was to settle disputes among his subjects. He was required to defend the territories of Islam and keep the highway any roads safe for travellers. He was to maintain and enforce the criminal code. He was to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggression. He was to wage a holy war against those who acted in hostility to Islam. He was

to collect rates and taxes. He was to apportion the shares of those who deserved an allowance from the public treasury. He was to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties. He was required to keep in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact. The Sultan controls affairs, maintains rights and enforces the criminal code; he is the Pole Star around which revolve the affairs of the world and the Faith; he is the protection of God in his realm; his shadow extends its canopy over his servants; for he forbids the forbidden, helps the oppressed, uproots the oppressor and gives security to the timid.

It is not proper to content that the Sultan was absolutely a despot and there was no limitation on his power. However, in actual practice absolute authority exists only in the dream of the despot. All political power is limited and depends on the co-operation of strong elements in the state.

According to Dr. A.C. Banerjee, "It is altogether impossible to discover in any intelligible principle the source of the power which the Sultans of Delhi enjoyed for three centuries. They did not owe their position to the Khalifas, the nominal rulers of the Islamic world, although some of them did invoke their authority in their support. Nor did they owe their sovereignty to the will of the people. As the first instance, their sole right to rule this country was that of military conquest. But they failed to evolve any workable law of succession, or any tolerable method to secure dynastic continuity. Sons did not always succeed their fathers. The nomination of the dying ruler was unceremoniously set aside by the over-mighty nobles, but even the nobles did not have the decisive voice in selecting the ruler. The principle—if it is a principle at all—to which candidates appealed was that of force: and nothing but might was right," (Medieval Studies, pp. 107-08).

Dr. Tarachand rightly points out that the Sultans of the early Middle Ages while paying lip-service to canonical theories, looked upon themselves as monarchs independent of the Caliph and deriving their authority directly from God. Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj gives the title of Zill Allah Fil Alamin to Iltutmish, Sayah-i-Yazdan to Nazir-ud-din Mahmud and Balban. Amir Khusrau speaks to Kaiubad as Sayah-i-Yazdani Pak. Qutub-ud-Din Mubarak Shah called himself Khalifatal Allah.

There was a sort of compact between the Sultans and the Ulema

by which the Ulema were to interpret the Quran in favour of the authority of the Sultan and the latter was not only to give high offices to the Ulema but also make endowments to the Muslim institutions and Muslim causes. The result was that the Ulema became a political force which could not be ignored by the Sultans.

The Sultans were primarily military adventures and they did not care much for the niceties of political and religious thought. They welcomed thinkers, writers and poets to their courts so long as they did not interfere with the work of the state and if they did so, they were liable to be exterminated. Such a fate was met by Barani as he complained that the Sultans were not giving due attention to their office. The checks on the authority of the Sultans were the Ulema, the nobility and the soldiers of the standing army.

A very effective check was put on the power of the king by the nobles. No Sultan could afford to offend the powerful nobles without endangering his own position. Some of these nobles were the heads of clans and consequently had a permanent following. It was not easy to impose the royal will on them. They considered themselves to be the equals of the Sultan and capable of founding royal dynasties themselves. Their relationship with the Sultan varied according to the character and capability of the Sultan. The only ideal that held the nobles together was the service of Islam. It was realised that a faith without a state was futile and a state without a faith was without any guidance. It is these feelings which kept the nobles together and they obeyed the Sultan so long as they felt that he was performing his duties. If he was found to be incapable the nobles did not hesitate to revolt against him. I must not be forgotten that the nobles very often did what not advantageous to them.

There is an Arab adage that "The bravest of men require arms and the wisest of kings need ministers" and the same was true of the Delhi Sultans. During the rule of the so-called Slave dynasty, there were four ministers, viz. the Wazir, the Ariz-i-Mamalik, the Dewan-i-Insha and the Diwan-i-Rasalat. Sometimes, the Naib or Naib-i-Mamalik was also appointed. He exercised great authority particularly when the Sultan was weak. Ordinarily, he was inferior to the Wazir. It was later on that the offices of the Sadr-us-Sudur and Diwan-i-Qaza were raised to the status of ministers. Thus, there were 6 ministers under the Delhi Sultanate. The Comptroller of the Royal household was not technically a minister but he exercised greater power than a minister did.

The Delhi Sultans were surrounded by the wisest and most experienced men in the realm. They had wonderful opportunities of seeking advice and counsel and keeping in touch with public opinion. The ministers were just the servants of the Sultan and responsible to him alone. However, this does not mean that a minister had no real authority. The position and powers of a minister were well-defined by law and sanctified by tradition.

The chief minister was called the Wazir and great importance was attached to this post. The Wazir stood mid-way between the sovereign and his subjects. He was considered to be a partaker in sovereignty. It was recognised that no empire could be stable or prosperous without a Wazir. "Sovereignty dominion could not attain the pinnacle of their height without the help and co-operation of a Wazir, whose wise deliberations would result in promoting the welfare of the country and the prosperity of the people."

In the Sultanate of Delhi, there were two types of Wazirs. Most of them possessed special and limited powers. A few of them enjoyed unlimited authority and ruled the empire in the name of the Sultan. Some Sultans were too much under the control of the Wazir who practically usurped all power.

The functions of the Wazir have been given in the following passage: "The kings know well how to lead expeditions, conquer countries, give rewards and shine in the assembly or the battlefield but it is in the domain of the Wazir to make a country prosperous, to accumulate treasure, to appoint officials, to ask for accounts, and to arrange the stock-taking of the commodities in the Karkhanahs and the census of the horses, camels, mules and other animals, to assemble and pay the troops and artisans, to keep the people satisfied, to look after the man of piety and fame and to give them stipends, to take care of the widows and the orphans, to provide for the learned, to administer the affairs of the people, to organise the offices and look after their efficiency; in short, to transact the business of the state." The wazir was the head of the entire machinery of the government. Although his immediate concern was the central finance office, he was also responsible for other offices at the headquarters. He appointed and superintended the civil servants. He organised the agency for the collection of revenue. He exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined the accounts submitted by the various departments of the Government. The various

statements were compared, checked and passed in his office. It was his duty to recover the money illegally spent by the local officials. All the requirements of the military department were referred to him for his final approval. It was his office which kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. It was his department which paid stipends to scholars and men of learning and also gave dues to the poor and needy. Every subject from the Governor to the peasant had dealing with him or his assistants.

The Sultans always supported their Wazirs in enforcing discipline. There was always co-operation between the Sultan and the Wazir. There was always the possibility of the interested parties poisoning the mind of the Sultan against the Wazir and wise Wazirs always guarded against that possibility. The Wazir was to conduct himself in such a way that he did not create too many enemies. Most of the Wazirs were men of culture and refined taste. The only exception was Khan Jahan Maqbul.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the functions of Diwan-i-Risalat. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that he dealt with religious matters and was also in charge of the grant of stipends to scholars and pious men. However, the view of Dr. Habib Ullah is that he was a minister for foreign affairs and was in charge of diplomatic correspondence. Ambassadors and envoys were sent to and received from foreign rulers. It is pointed out that the view of Dr. Habib Ullah is preferable. The reason is that there was already an officer who was in charge of religious affairs, endowments and charity and he was known as Sadr-ud-Sudur.

Very often, the offices of Sadr-ud-Sudur and Diwan-i-Qaza were held by one person. The Sadr-ud-Sudur was required to enforce Islamic rules and regulations. He was required to see that the Muslims observed those rules and regulations in their daily lives. He had in his charge a lot of money to give to Muslim divines, scholars and men of piety. The head of the Diwan-i-Qaza was the Qazi-i-Mumlik also known as Qazi-i-Quzat.

The Diwan-i-Insha dealt with royal correspondence. It had rightly been called "The treasury of secrets." That is due to the fact that Dabir-i-Khas who presided over this department, was also the confidential clerk of the state. The Dabir-i-Khas was assisted by a number of Dabirs who had established their reputation as masters of style. All correspondence between the sovereign and the rulers of other states of

his own tributaries and officials passed through this department. Every order from the Sultan was first drafted in this department and then taken to him for sanction after which it was copied, registered and then despatched.

The Barid-i-Mumalik was the head of the state news agency. His duty was to keep himself informed of all that was happening in various parts of the empire. There was a local Barid at the headquarters of every administrative sub-division and it was his duty to send regularly news-letters to the Central Office. It is only men of honesty who were appointed to this post. If a Barid did not report a misdeed or some act of gross injustice committed by a well-placed officials, he had sometimes to pay for his mistake with his life. There was nothing which was outside the sphere of the Barid. He was the confidential agent of the Central Government of report on every aspect of public administration. He was required to report on the Government officials, the financial position, the state of agriculture, purity of coinage etc. He was required to send his own impressions regarding the review of troops. He attended all important functions. He kept his informers everywhere and did not allow anything to escape. The Barid was paid well so that he may be above temptation.

The Wakil-i-dar was the chief dignitary of the royal household. He controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the personal staff of the Sultan. The royal kitchen, stables and even the children of the Sultan were under his control. All royal orders relating to the household were communicated through him. He reported all affairs requiring royal sanction. Everybody was required to approach his Sultan through him and consequently he exercised great influence and was considered in many respects to be the deputy of the Sultan. As he was always dealing with men of importance, he was required to be exceedingly tactful. Even his staff was selected very carefully. He had to keep the Sultan well-informed about the affairs of the state particularly because most of the important personages with whom he dealt, had direct access to the Sultan.

The Ariz-i-Mumalik was the head of the ministry of war was called Diwan-i-Arz. He was responsible for maintaining the army in a state of efficiency. He acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit. He inspected the troops at least once a year and examined the condition of the equipment of every trooper. The promotion of every soldier depended upon him. He kept master-rolls

and revised the salaries at each annual review. His office was responsible for the recommendation of assignments to soldiers and the payment of the troops. Whenever a campaign was undertaken, the Ariz was incharge of all preparation. Although the general was nominated by the Sultan, the choice of the troops was generally left to him. In all important wars, he himself accompanied the army. He looked after supply and transport. After a victory, he supervised the collection of the booty which was divided in the presence of the Commander-in-chief. The Diwan-i-arz was rightly called the "source of the livelihood of the fighters for the Faith."

Under the Delhi Sultanate, a noble was generally selected as Naib-ul-Mulk or Lord Lieutenant of the realm. The actual authority varied with the character of the Sultan. Sometimes, it was merely an empty title, but at other times, the Naib-ul-Mulk was practically the absolute authority. He was the head of the military organisation and was entrusted with the Government of the centrally administered areas. A noble was selected to act as Naib-i-Ghaibat during the absence of the Sultan. He was the representative of the Sultan at the capital and dealt with all emergent and routine business.

The Sar-i-Jandar was attached to the Court. He commanded the king's bodyguard called Jandars. He was a salaried officer and a high noble. It appears that there were more than one Sar-i-Jandars at a time possibly in command of different groups. His primary duty was to guard the person of the king. The Jandar formed an integral part of the retinue. A passage in the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* seems to suggest that the Sar-i-Jandar was also entrusted with the custody, punishment and execution of the prisoners of war and convicted criminals.

The other household dignitaries were Amir-i-Akhur (Master of Horse) with his Naib and the Shahnah-i-Pilan (Superintendent of Elephants). The Amir-i-Shikar was incharge of the hunting establishment of the king. He had a number of subordinates to look after different hunting animals and birds.

A kind of Advisory Council for the Sultan was formed by the Amir-i-Hajib, his Deputy, the Wazir, the Ariz, Vakil-i-dar and Kotwal of Delhi. However, there was no hard and fast rule as to its constitutional functions and much depended upon the whim of the Sultan. Non-officials were also normally consulted. The officials and the non-officials were together known as Arkan-i-Daulat. Bhugra Khan was specially instructed to follow the advice of these advisers. Kaiqubad

was urged to refer all problems of Government to his Cabinet of four Ministers, composed of the Wazir, the Ariz and the Heads of the Diwan-i-Insha and Diwan-i-Risalat.

The fiscal policy of the sultanate period was based on the theory of finance of the Hanafi School of Sunni jurists. The Muslim state had two sources of revenue and those were religious and secular. The religious taxes could be demanded only from the Muslims and those were grouped under the name of Zakat. It was an act of piety to Zakat. The Zakat was payable in gold or silver, herds and merchandise. The Zakat when assessed on value or weight, was 1/40th of the property. Zakat could be levied only on that property which was in the possession of the owner for at least one year. There is a mention of a separate treasury for Zakat.

The secular taxes were Kharaj, Jizya, the tax on non-Muslim traders and imposts on spoils of war on mines and treasure-trove, Kharaj was the tax on land held by non-Muslim. According to Islamic law, its rate varied from 1/10th to one-half.

Jizya was a poll-tax charged only from the non-Muslim. There is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the nature of this tax. One view is that it was a religious tax levied on the non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life and property and exemption from military service, as non-Muslims were not entitled," according to orthodox jurists, to live in a Muslim country. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that Jizya was levied from the non-Muslims as the cash equivalent "of the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as they do in the Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it." Military service was compulsory for all Muslims and the Sultan could call upon any Muslims to defend the state. This religious duty did not affect the non-Muslims. This shows that Jizya was not a payment for the privilege of living in a Muslim state.

Critics point out that whatever might have been the original intention with which Jizya was levied in Islamic lands outside India, there is no doubt that by the time the Arabs conquer Sind, Jizya had acquired a religious importance. Jizya was levied on the non-Muslims as the state gave them "protection of life and property and exemption from military service." It was considered to be a religious duty by the Sultans to realise the Jizya with all the rigour they could command. It is pointed out that those who hold Jizya to be a secular tax ignore the

fact that it was levied in lieu of the protection of life and property of the Zimmis and they put emphasis merely on exemption from military service. It is well-known that even the vassal Hindu Rajas who rendered military service, were not exempted from the payment of Jizya.

Jizya was not levied from women, children, monks, beggars, the blind and the crippled. It was not levied even from the Brahmanas. It was only during the reign of Firuz Shah that Jizya was levied from the Brahmanas. There was lot of trouble and ultimately the rich Hindus of Delhi undertook to pay for the Brahmanas. On a subsequent representation, the Sultan reduced the tax on the richer Brahmanas to 10 Tankas of 50 Jitals each. The entire Hindu population was divided into three grades for the purpose of Jizya. The first grade paid at the rate of 48 Dirhams, the second 24 Dirhams and the third 12 Dirhams.

The Zakat on imports was a fortieth of the value of the merchandise. It was 50% on horses. These charges were double in the case of non-Muslim traders. Sikander Lodi abolished the Zakat on grain and it was not renewed by any subsequent Sultan. The spoils of war were known as Ghanimah Legally, out of all the booty collected, one-fifth was to be kept for the state and the rest was to be distributed among the soldiers. However, it was lawful for the Sultan or Commander-in-Chief to select an animal, a sword or some other article which particularly pleased him. The share of the state was known as Khams. Against the Islamic law, a practice grew up that only fifth was distributed amongst the soldiers and four-fifths were kept by the state. The state was entitled to a fifth of all minerals provided those were solid and capable of being melted. A fifth of the treasure-trove was to be given to the state and rest was to be kept by the finder. However, if the land did not belong to the finder, the land-owner was entitled to four-fifths of the treasure and the rest was to go to the state. The property of the Muslims dying intestate and without heirs belonged entirely to the state. However, the property of a Hindu dying in similar circumstances was handed over to his community.

II

LAND REVENUE

The main source of income of the Sultan was the land revenue. There were four kinds of land viz. Khalisa territory, land divided into Iqtas and held by Muqtis either for a number of years or for life-time, principalities of the Hindu chiefs who had come to terms with the

Sultan and the land given away to Muslim scholars and saints in gift. The Khalisa land was directly administered by the Central government. However, the state dealt only with the local revenue officers and not the individual peasants. There was an Amil or revenue clerk in each sub-division who collected revenue from the Chaudharis and Muqaddams who in their turn realised it from the peasants. The share of the state was based on a summary assessment.

The assessment and collection of revenue in the Iqta was in the hands of the Muqti who deducted his own share and paid the surplus to the Central Government. The Sultan appointed an officer called Khawaja in each Iqta to supervise the collection of revenue and also to put check on the Muqti. There was a possibility of collusion between the Muqti and the Khawaja. The Wakf land or Inam land was free from revenue assessment.

Very important changes were made by Ala-ud-Din Khalji in revenue administration. He confiscated the lands held by Muslim grantees and religious land held as Milk, Inam, Idarat and Wakf. Hindu Muqaddams, Khuts and Chaudharis were made to pay taxes from which they were formerly exempted. The state demand was increased to one-half of the produce. He also imposed the house tax and grazing tax on the peasants. The object of his policy was to increase the revenue and make all classes of people shoulder the burden of taxation. The strictness with which the revenue policy was followed by Ala-ud-Din softened the rigour but did not reduce the state demand from one-half of the produce. He recognised the principle of making deductions for the damage done to the crops due to natural calamity or accident. He allowed the Khuts, Muqaddams and the Chaudharis to enjoy exemption from the taxes on their lands and their grazing animals. He laid down that the state demand from any Iqta was not to be increased more than one-tenth or one-eleventh of the standard assessment in a year. Muhammad Tughluq increased the state demand to 50% in the Doab. The increased tax was realised in spite of famine and consequently there was a rebellion. When it was too late, he advanced loans and sank irrigation wells. The result was that the whole of the Doab was ruined. The Sultan also created a new department of agriculture known as Diwan-i-Kohi. But that also did not succeed. Firuz Tughluq cancelled the Taqavi loans. He increased the salaries of the revenue staff. He fixed the revenue of the entire Khalisa land on a permanent basis. He abolished as many as 24 taxes. He levied only five taxes, viz. Kharaj,

Khams, Jizya, Zakat and irrigation tax. He constructed many canals and sank many wells for irrigation purposes. He encouraged the cultivation of superior crops. He planted many gardens. The main defects in his revenue administration were the application of the principle of farming but of land revenue, the granting of assignments of land revenue and public sale of assignment deeds and the extension of the scope and rigour of realisation of Jizya.

There is a controversy amongst scholars regarding the scale of land revenue demanded by the Sultans of Delhi. The view of Dr. Qureshi is that the state demand was fixed at one-fifth of the gross produce. Those who do not accept this view point out that the Muslim law lays down that the rate of Kharaj should vary from one-tenth to one-half of the produce. The rate of land revenue might have been one-fifth of the produce in the time of the so-called Slave Kings but was increased to one-half by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The Delhi Sultans after Ala-ud-Din Khalji continued to levy the land revenue at the same rate. It was later on that Sher Shah Suri lowered it to one-third of the produce.

There were various kinds of tax-farmers. Sometimes, the village headman acted as a tax-farmer by undertaking to pay a fixed amount to the state on behalf of the peasants. Sometimes the governor of a province was made responsible for the collection of the land revenue and a settlement had to be made with him regarding the amount of the money which he was to pay. The tributary chiefs were tax-farmers in a sense because they paid only a fixed tribute. However, the worst tax farmer was the speculator whose only concern was to make as much money as he could unmindful of the sufferings of the peasants.

The system of granting the produce of a defined area of land in return of services was common in India before its conquest by the Muslims and the same was adopted by the Delhi Sultans. The assignment system continued throughout the period although it was restricted considerably by some Sultans. The view of Ala-ud-Din Khalji was that the assignments encouraged the nobles to rebel and consequently he refrained from giving many assignments. Mubarak Shah was very generous in giving assignments. Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughluq did not interfere with assignments. In the time of Muhammad Tughluq, the salaries of all high officials were paid by assigning to them the revenue of "towns and villages." The number of assignments grew in the time of Firuz Shah. It is to be noted that to

begin with persons to whom assignments were given were in actual possession of those lands or areas and did not merely receive a fixed amount from the local officials. As a matter of fact, the assignment-holders regarded those villages as their hereditary property. However, the nature of the assignments changed later on. The holder of the assignment came to be entitled only to the revenue of the area and he was not to have any right to manage the same. It is not possible to say as to when this change took place but it was positively before Muhammad Tughluq and probably during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji who adopted many measures to curb the power of the nobles.

According to Dr. Qureshi, the Muslim rulers did not charge any extra rate even for the water supplied through channels by the state. Firuz Shah Tughluq built canals with his private money and charged 10% from those who used the water for irrigation purposes. The money thus received was put into the Privy Purse and not into the state treasury. When the canals irrigated the waste land, Firuz Shah charged one-fifth of the produce.

The idea of digging canals and providing irrigation facilities to the peasants was the outcome of the desire of the Sultans to improve agriculture. If more area was brought under cultivation and better crops were produced, there was a possibility of more revenue for the state. Muhammad Tughluq set up a separate ministry called *Diwan-i-Amir-Kohi*. Its function was to bring new area under cultivation and to improve the existing crops. The project was sound but it failed on account of inefficient and inexperienced officials. The ministry was continued in the time of Firuz Tughluq and he showed great interest in the improvement of agriculture. He encouraged people to bring new lands under cultivation. Nominal revenue was charged from such persons.

A few local imposts were levied from the people. The vendors of fish, flowers, rope, oil, parched gram and betel leaves were required to pay small ceases. *Jazzari* was levied from butchers at the rate of 12 *Jitals* per head on cows for slaughter.

An important source of revenue consisted of the presents which were made by his subjects to the Sultan. The custom was that if a person wanted to see the Sultan, he had to give a present to him. Things like carpets, horses, camels, arms, vases of gold and silver with precious stones, etc., were given to the king as presents. Ibn Battuta tells us

that the Prime Minister offered Muhammad Tughluq gold and silver together "with a porcelain vase filled with rubes, another with emeralds and a third full of magnificent pearls." The system of presents continued even during the Mughal period.

As the rule of the Sultans of Delhi was not based on the willing consent of the people of India, they were required to maintain a large army. Their army consisted of the regular soldiers permanently employed in the service of the Sultan, troops permanently employed in the service of the provincial governors and nobles, recruits employed in times of war and Muslim volunteers enlisted for fighting a holy war of Jihad. The troops of the Sultan at Delhi were known as Hashm-i-Qalb. Some of these troops belonged to the Sultan and the others were in the service of the nobles at Delhi. The troops in the service of the Sultan were known as Khasah Khail and included royal slaves, guards called Jandars and Afwaj-i-Qulb or the troops directly under royal command. Their number was small and they could not be depended upon in times of danger or war. The credit of creating a standing army goes to Ala-ud-Din Khalji who directly recruited, paid and controlled the army. Its number was 4,75,000 horses, in addition to a large number of footmen. This state of affairs continued till the time of Firuz Tughluq who converted the army into a feudal organization.

The army of the Lodis was organised on a clannish basis. It was weak and ill-organised. In times of war, the troops maintained by the nobles and governors were placed at the disposal of Diwan-i-Ariz. It was for the Governor concerned to look after their organization, discipline and payment. There did not exist any uniform rules for their recruitment, training and promotion. Irregular troops were employed only in times of war and there was no fixed rule for their payment. The Maulvis and the Ulema were employed by the state for the purpose of arousing the fanaticism of the Muslim soldiers to fight against the Hindu rulers. The Muslim volunteers got a share of the booty and not any regular salary from the treasury.

The army of the Sultans of Delhi was a heterogeneous body. It consisted of Turks of various tribes, the Tajiks, the Persians, the Mongols, the Afghans, the Arabs, the Abyssinians, Indian Mussalmans and the Hindus. It was a mercenary body which worked for the sake of money. The only bond was the Sultan himself.

The army consisted of the cavalry, infantry and elephantry. The cavalry formed the backbone of the military establishment. It was the cavalry of Delhi which successfully kept the Mongols at bay and struck terror into their hearts. Horsemen were armed with two swords, a dagger and a turkish bow with very good arrows. Some horsemen carried maces also. Many of them wore coats of mail and other jackets quilted with cotton. Horses were caparisoned with steel. Great care was taken by the Sultans to see that their army did not run short of horses. There was a thriving trade in horses between Indian and Arabia, Turkistan and Russia. Attempts were made even to breed good horses in India. We are told that Ala-ud-Din Khalji had 70,000 horses in the city of Delhi and its neighbourhood.

The foot soldiers were called *Payaks*. Most of them were Hindus, slaves or other persons of humble origin who wanted employment but could not afford horses. They were useful as personal guards and door-keepers. Sometimes they took part in matters of great importance. They carried swords, daggers, bows and arrows. They were good archers and were known as *Dhanuks*.

The Sultans attached great importance to elephants. Their size and strength struck terror into the hearts of the foreign warriors. The view of Balban was that a single elephant was as effective in the battlefield as 500 horsemen. A big elephant could carry many armed soldiers. They towered above the cavalry and infantry and rained death amongst the ranks of the enemy. Some of them carried on their backs small citadels full of soldiers. Elephants were clad in plates of steel and large scythes were attached to their trunks and tusks. The Sultan had a monopoly of elephants and no person was allowed to keep an elephant without the permission of the Sultan. A large number of elephants at Delhi required a large establishment and the *Shahna-i-Fil* was an important officer of the realm.

There was nothing like modern artillery, but incendiary arrows, javelins and pots full of combustibles were used in battle. Hand-grenades, fire-works, rocks and naphtha balls were used. Various mechanical devices were employed for battering the walls of fortresses, for throwing large balls for projecting naphtha and fire-works. Various kinds of engines were used by the Sultans.

The army was organised on a decimal basis. A *Sar-i-Khail* had 10 horsemen under him. A *Sipah-Salar* had 10 *Sar-i-Khails* under him.

An amir had 10 Sipah-Salars under him. A Malik had 10 Amirs under him. A Khan had 10 Maliks under him.

The seize of the army varied from time to time. Ala-ud-Din Khalji commanded 4,75,000 horsemen. Muhammad Tughluq had 9,00,000 horsemen. Kalqubad had 1,00,000 mounted soldiers at Delhi when he made preparations to march against his father. Firuz Tughluq had 90,000 soldiers excluding slaves.

The pay of a soldier must have varied at different times. During the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khalji, a fully equipped cavalry-man was paid 234 Tankas per annum. However, the Sultan had to regulate the prices in order to make that salary worth-while for him. Muhammad Tughluq paid about 500 Tankas in addition to food, dress and fodder. It is not clear whether the soldier was given dress and food only when he was on active service or he had given the same even in normal times. We are told that a Khan was paid a lac of Tankas. The Malik was paid 50 to 60 thousand Tankas. An Amir was paid 30 to 40 thousand Tankas. A Sipah-Salar was paid 20,000 Tankas. Petty official received one to ten thousand Tankas a year. Soldiers were paid directly by the state. They were usually paid in cash. By the system of assignments, the nobles were able to get more than their official salary. The assignments were for the personal salary of the officials and did not included the pay of the soldiers.

The Sultans were the masters of military strategy. They employed very commonly the art of ambushing and surprise attacks. Before the actual battle the prospective theatre of war was thoroughly surveyed. The army was very often divided into the advance-guard, the centre, the right wing, the left wing, the rear-guard and the reserve. According to Dr. Qureshi, there were flanking parties on either flank of an army. However, the army of Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat in 1526 had no such flanking party. Scouts rendered a very useful service.

The department of Justice was the most ill-organised department of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Sultan dispensed justice through the Diwan-i-Qaza. He also gave justice through the agency of Diwan-i-Mazalim. Muhammad Tughluq set up a separate department called Diwan-i-Siyasat.

The Diwan-i-Mazalim was presided over by the Amir-i-Dad. This was so when the Sultan was not present in person. Ibn battuta tells us that Muhammad Tughluq personally heard complaints on every

Monday and Thursday. The Sultan sat on a high throne. Surrounded by his bodyguard and officers. The Qazi-i-Mumalik sat at the side of the Sultan to give him legal advice. On days when the Sultan did not sit in public, the Hajibs received the complaints and passed them on to the chief Hajib who submitted them to the Sultan. The Governors were required to sit as Courts of Muzalim. They were helped by the Sahib-i-Diwan and the Qazi. The Courts of Muzalim heard complaints against officials.

The Diwan-i-Qaza had contacts with the departments of Siyasat and Muzalim but its main concern was civil litigation. It may be said that Qaza dealt with common law and Siyasat and Muzalim dealt with administrative law. The head of the Diwan-i-Qaza was the Qazi-Mumalik, also known as Qazi-ul-Qazat. The same person was also appointed Sadr-us-Sudur. The chief Qazi was given a salary of 26,000 Tankas a year under Muhammad Tughluq. He was in charge of the whole legal system and the administration of religious affairs. He heard appeals from the lower Courts and appointed the local Qazis. Great importance was attached to the Qazi of Delhi. Ibn Battuta was appointed the Qazi of Delhi by Muhammad Tughluq and was addressed as "Our lord and master."

There was a Qazi in every town and his duty was to settle disputes, supervise and manage the property of orphans and lunatics, execute testamentary dispositions and supervise Waqaf. He was required to help destitute widows to find suitable husbands. He was responsible for street maintenance etc. All contested property was deposited with the Qazi or his nominee. It was the duty of the local governors and officials to help the Qazi in maintaining the dignity of law and to co-operate with him in bringing wrong-doers to their senses. The Qazis were not under the Governors as they were directly appointed by the Central Government.

The Amir-i-Dad was associated with justice. He presided over the court of Mazalim in the absence of the Sultan. When the Sultan was present in person, Amir-i-Dad was responsible for its executive and administrative business. Ordinarily, a man of high rank was appointed as Amir-i-Dad as he had to try complaints against governors and big commanders. Muhammad Tughluq paid his Amir-i-Dad 50,000 Tankas.

Amir-i-Dad had his assistants in the provinces. He looked after the executive side of justice. It was his duty to see that the decisions

of the Qazi were carried out. Amir-i-Dad was also responsible for the proper maintenance of mosques, bridges and public buildings, city walls and gates. He controlled the Kotwal, the police and the Muhtasib. His office kept copies of the documents registered with the Qazi. It was his duty to forbid a covenant which violated law.

The Sultan believed in the view that a dominion could subsist in spite of misbelief, but it could not endure with the existence of injustice. The officials were generally chosen for their learning and piety. Some Sultans set a high example of justice. Balban is said to have inflicted extreme penalty on a governor who was guilt of murder whom he was drunk. Muhammad Tughluq appeared as a defendant in the court of qazi and when the case was proved against him, he insisted on the penalty. Many instances have been given by Ibn Battuta which show that Muhammad Tughluq had great respect for law. The Qazi was not allowed to get up when the Sultan entered his court. A man complained that the Sultan owed him money. The sultan appeared before the Qazi and paid the debt. Firuz Shah did not hesitate to execute a favourite who was found guilty of murder.

The Sultans were very anxious to maintain the security of the state. The routine police duties were performed by the Kotwal. The force of the Kotwal patrolled the city at night and guarded thoroughfares. The Kotwal secured the co-operation of the people in the performance of his duties. He maintained a register of the inhabitants of every quarter, kept himself informed of their activities and means of livelihood and took cognizance of every new arrival and departure. His jurisdiction extended to the rural area also. He also acted as a committing magistrate. The criminal code was severe and punishments were deterrent. In certain cases, the criminal was paraded in the city. The life and property of a rebel were at the mercy of the Sultan. Ala-ud-Din Khalji introduced the system of punishing the family of the rebel. The penal code of the Shara was applied to crimes which came under the jurisdiction of the Qazi.

There was no uniform administrative system under the Sultans of Delhi. During the 13th century, the Delhi Sultanate consisted of military commands known as Iqtas. Each was under a Iuqti. When Ala-ud-Din Khalji conquered practically the whole of the country, the allowed big and small provinces to remain as they were. There were three kinds of provinces under Ala-ud-Din Khalji. The first kind consisted of the old Iqtas. To the second category belonged the newly

conquered provinces and those were placed under military governors known as Walis. To the third category belonged the principalities of the Hindus vassals who were reduced to the position of governors. When the Delhi Sultanate was at its height, it had 23 provinces, viz. Badaun, Bihar, Delhi, Deogiri, Dwarasamudra, Gujarat, Hansi, Jainagar, Kalanaur, Kanauj, Kara, Kuhram, Lahore, Lakhnauti, Malbar, Malwa, Multan, Oudh, Samana, Sehwan, Sirsuti, Telang and Uch.

About the appointment of a Governor. Hasan Nizami says that “a famous and exalted servant was chosen so that he might look after the soldiers, servants, warriors and clerks and save them from the treachery of the unbelievers and designs of the polytheists, he should take points to fulfill the expectations of the people he should exercise the greatest circumspection in a military and revenue matters, and he should maintain the traditions of benevolence and charity so as to leave a name for eternity.”

Qutb-ud-Din Aibak gave certain instructions to his Wali. The Wali was required to protect and enforce the laws, customs and regulations. He was to look after the Ulema, the worriers and civil officials. He was to reconcile the people by reducing their dues and introducing measures of prosperity. He was to increase the produce by extending the cultivation. He was to maintain justice and protect the weak from the rapacity and tyranny of the strong. He was to see that the decisions of the courts were enforced. He was to desist from capital punishment and guard the highways, encourage trade and protect traders. When Fateh Khan was appointed the Governor of Sind by Firuz Shah, certain instructions were given to him. He was to act as the chief executive officer. He was to protect the people and guard their interests. He was to help the learned and the holy. He was to maintain the army in a happy and contented condition. He was to supervise the work of the Diwan-i-Wizarat. He was to protect the peasants from undue exactions and tyranny. He was to supervise the work of public officers.

In every province, there was a Sahib-i-Diwan, also known as Khwaja. He was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the Wazir. He was generally an expert accountant. His duty was to keep account books and submit detailed statements to the headquarters. It was on the basis of those sheets that the Department of the Wazir settled the account with the Muqti. Officially, the Khwaja was subordinate to the Governor. However, in actual practice, he was a power to reckon

with and he was a check on the authority of the Governor. The reports of the Khwaja might lead to the dismissal to the Governor.

During the 13th century, there was no lower unit of administration than the Iqta. However, during 14th century, the provinces were divided into Shiqs. Probably, this was not done everywhere. Muhammad Tughluq divided the viceroyalty of the Deccan into four Shiqs. There was Shiqdar at the head of Shiq. He was probably a military officer and his duty was to maintain law and order within his jurisdiction.

The next smaller unit was the Parganah which has rightly been identified by Moreland with the Qasban meaning thereby an aggregate of villages. The next division was the village. Ibn Battuta refers to Sadi which he defines in these words: "These people give the name of Sadi to the collection of a hundred villages." Ibn Battuta refers to the Sadi of Hindpat which can be identified with the Parganah of Indrapat in the neighbourhood of Delhi. It appears that the term Sadi was not officially adopted and that explains its absence from contemporary records.

It appears that the administration of villages continued in the hands of Hindu officials. There was a Panchayat in every village and most of the disputes were settled there. The People of the village looked after their affairs themselves and ordinarily they were not interfered with by the Sultan. There was a Chowkidar and a Patwari in every village.

Thus on the whole, the administration of the Delhi Sultans was a sort of military rule which was maintained by fear or force. It was not based on the consent of the people. Ordinarily, the Government was worried only about collecting money from the people. It did not consider its responsibility for their welfare. The non-Muslims who formed a majority of the population, were completely ignored. The result was that the position of the Sultans was never stable and we have references of frequent revolts against the authority of Sultans.

10

Vijayanagar Empire

I

The kingdom of Vijayanagar stood as a champion of Hindu culture and civilization in the south. Like all medieval Indian states, it was a feudal organisation which retained some of the ancient Hindu institutions which were suitably modified to meet the new challenges. As Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri observes in 'A History of South India,' "The Empire (Vijayanagar) was in theory a hereditary monarchy, but the times were hard and the hostility of the Muslim States on the one side and the intransigence of feudatories on the other, made it imperative that the King should be possessed of high attainments on diplomacy and war."

The king was the fountain-head of all power and was the supreme authority in all affairs, civil, military and judicial. As supreme head of the state, he enjoyed in theory unfettered power. In actual practice, however, he was expected to act in accordance with the Dharmasastra. "Strictly speaking," says Dr. Beni Prasad, "Hindu political theory vests sovereignty in the Dharma or law in the widest sense of the term. But administration was entrusted to the king." A further check on the king was the custom and the public opinion. Most of the taxes were based on custom and the state could not interfere with them. Vincent Smith's sweeping observation that the "Vijayanagar king was an autocrat of the most absolute possible kind unrestrained by any form of check" is not justifiable. The king had a council of ministers to advise him on matters of state policy and administration. But the king was not bound to accept their advice. He could appoint and dismiss any one of the ministers at his pleasure. Besides, there was a larger council which the king was obliged to consult in the administration of the kingdom. It consisted of feudal chiefs or nayaks incharge of provincial units, the

distinguished scholars, bards and other dignitaries at the court and friendly rulers of independent or semi-independent states. It was, however, not a regular body and its members were in all probability consulted individually or in groups whenever the exigencies of the situation required. The council of ministers comprised 8 to 10 members and was recruited from kshatriyas and the vaisyas. Some of the princes of the royal family were also associated with this body, though they might not hold any ministerial post. The office of the minister was sometimes hereditary but it all depended on the will of the king. The pradhani sometimes known as mahasirah pradhani, the upapradhani, the dandanayaka, the samantadhipati and some others were the ministers. In the absence of the king the prime minister presided over meetings which were held in strict secrecy. The ministers were expected to possess high qualifications. T.V. Mahalingam in his well-known work "Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar" observes that "a minister was to be a scholar, afraid of adharma, well versed in rajaniti, between the ages of fifty and seventy, and healthy in body and one whose connections with the King had come down from previous generation and one who was not conceited." The advice of the council was, however, not binding on the king who could have his own way. There was a secretariat called rayasam attached to the king. The officer incharge was rayasavami. The traveller Nuniz calls rayasams as secretaries who were incharge of various departments. The king had large number of officers in his personal establishment. Some of them were sarvanayaka also called maneya-pradhana (house minister), vasal kariyam (chief of the guard), and mudra karta who kept the seal of the King.

Revenue

The chief sources of income were the revenue from the crown lands, tributes paid by the chieftains, and port and custom duties. Taxes were also levied on properties and houses and industries. Besides there were professional taxes and income from judicial fines. The land revenue varied from one-sixth to one-fourth of the gross yield. It was levied after a careful measurement of dry soil and varied according to the fertility of the soil and irrigation facilities available. It was known as raya rekha or royal line, while the professional tax was levied on workers, the industrial tax was imposed on industries. Taxes were also realized on marriages, meetings and social organisations. Local cess was levied for the up-keep of temples. Taxes were paid both in kind

and cash. There were four methods of collection. The government appointed its own employees to collect the revenue. In the second, the government gave a particular piece of land to individual bidders. Thirdly, the government arrived at certain fixed amount with a group of person to whom the collection of revenue from the village was entrusted. Lastly, the nayaks had been appointed by the government as head of provincial units in lieu of which they rendered military service and also paid a fixed tribute to the king. However, relief was given to the cultivators in case of failure of monsoon, drought or certain other unforeseeable calamities. In spite of this the taxes were quite heavy and there were cases where the people made representation or offered civil resistance which led to the reduction of the amount. Some of them even migrated to escape the heavy burden of taxes.

Major portion of the state expenditure was on the maintenance of a large standing army. The next charge on the state exchequer was public endowments and charities. Large amounts were given for the maintenance of temples. The Vijayanagar rulers undertook the construction of large irrigation and public works to increase the yield. It involved expenditure of considerable amount. Much money was spent on the up-keep of the king's household.

Law, Justice and Police

The Sources of Hindu law, are the Vedas, the Smritis or Dharmasastras, commentaries and digests, and customs. A large number of commentaries were written by scholars and statesmen under the patronage of the rulers. These law books were standard works of reference in the various courts. Some of the most important of them were Mitakshara by Vijnaneswara, Chaturvarga Chintamani by Hemadri, Dharmasutra of Apastamba by Haradalla, Aparaka-Yajnavalkya—Dharmasastra-Nibandha by Aparaka, Smriti Chandrika by Devanna Bhatta, besides Madhavacharya's commentary on Parasarasmriti and Prataprudra's Sarasvati Vilasa. The work of these eminent jurists formed the basis of the law administered in the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Contemporary sources do not throw much light on the judicial organisations in Vijayanagar. The king was no doubt the highest court of appeal. But he could not afford to hear all the cases. There was an officer called dandanayaka who heard important cases. But pradhani was overall in charge of administration of justice and may be called

the chief justice. He would, however, bring important cases to the notice of king who sometimes received the complaints from his people direct. There were courts in the provinces which were presided over by king's agents or governors. Besides, these regular official courts, there were popular courts which could decide cases in their jurisdiction. Among them we may mention the village caste courts, presided over by caste elders, courts presided over by temple trustees, and courts of the guilds presided over by their leading men. Civil cases were usually decided by these courts but appeal could be made to the royal courts of justice. Even criminal cases could be tried by these courts. At some places even some local residents were allowed to try criminal cases. But in all such cases, the appeal could be made to be king.

Punishments were very severe and even for a minor offence of theft, the hands or the feet of the culprit were chopped off. Nobles who became traitors were impaled alive on a stock through the belly. Even for minor offences, the head of the guilty persons were cut off in the market place. Some criminals were thrown before the elephants who tore them to pieces. The punishments were thus very harsh as it was considered necessary to eradicate evil and serve as a deterrent to others. Krishnadevaraya was, however, considerate. He observed: "In the matter of people sentenced to death, give them the chance to appeal thrice (for mercy). But in the case of those people whose escape might bring on a calamity to yourself, immediate execution is advisable." Whenever there was any necessity for human sacrifice, the condemned criminals were executed. These severe punishments had the desired effect and the traveller Durate Barbosa observed "Great equity and justice is observed to all not only by the rulers but by the people one to another." Brahmans had been given the immunity from capital punishment. In certain cases, punishment by ordeal was resorted to. In complicated cases, where it was found difficult to decide the case due to the paucity of evidence, divine help was sought. "If a person who underwent the ordeal came out successfully, he was considered to have won the case."

Provincial Administration

The provincial administration was not much altered from that existing in earlier times. The empire was divided into provinces which were known as rayyas and sometimes as mandalas. When the area of a particular rayya was large, it was called maharayya. They were further divided into districts, taluks and villages. In the Tamil region, the

districts were known as kottams or kurrams. The kottams were divided into nadus or modern talukas. The nadus were divided into aimbadin melagarams or units of fifty villages. Below this were the agarams or mangalams which were smaller administrative units of a few village.

In the Karnataka region, the rayyas (provinces) also called pithikas were divided into districts known as Venthe. Visya or nirvritti. These districts were divided into simes which were further divided into sthala comprising a few villages. There were no fixed number of villages in a sthala. There were certain variations in names and divisions in some parts of the region.

Each province was put under the charge of a governor who was usually a member of the royal family. The governor, generally known as dandanayaka had vast powers. They maintained their own armies, held courts and ruled the territories under their jurisdiction without interference from the Centre as long as they enjoyed the trust and confidence of the sovereign. They could, however, be transferred from one province to another depending on the will of the emperor. These provincial governors were even permitted to issue their own coins. They were held responsible for the maintenance of law and order. They had to pay a fixed sum of money annually to the king out of Revenues. They were also to maintain a fixed number of horsemen, foot soldiers and elephants. Some of them held office at the headquarters also and, therefore, appointed deputies to run the administration in the provinces. These governor maintained an agent called nuniz at the capital to keep them informed of the happenings at the court.

A brief reference here be made to the nayankara system. Vijayanagar was predominantly a military state. A huge army had to be maintained for defence against the Bahmanis. The king being the owner of the soil granted lands to some persons as a reward. They were called nayaks and ruled over the territory under their charge with great freedom. In return they had to pay a fixed amount as tribute to the king besides maintaining a prescribed number of troops for the service of the sovereign during war. The position of nayaka was quite different from that of the governor. He was merely a military vassal who had been assigned a district in lieu of certain military and financial obligations. He was not transferable and his office was personal but latter on became hereditary, when the kings at the centre became weak. The nayaks, on their part, gave their lands to other tenants on the same terms on which they had received them from the king.

Local Government

The ancient institution of village assemblies or *sabhas* continued during Vijayanagar times. The village *sabhas* had the right to acquire or dispose of lands in the name and on behalf of the village community. It also collected taxes on behalf of the state, if asked to do so and had the right to levy local cases or to remit old ones. But these assemblies could also protest if new taxes were imposed by the state. These *sabhas* had certain judicial powers. They could try and punish the offenders in certain cases. Their jurisdiction also extended to the temples and acted as guardians of public endowments and charities and trusts.

Besides, there were about 12 officials appointed by the state who looked after the affairs of the village. They were collectively known as *ayagars*. They included *gond* or *potail* (judge), *karanam* or *shanbhog* (registrar), *taliary* or *stulwar* and *toti* (watchmen), *neergantee* (who distributes the water of lakes, streams or reservoirs), *jyotishee* (astrologer), the smith, the carpenter, potter, washerman, barber and goldsmith.

There were some other officers who served as a link between the centre and the local administration. *Parupatyagar* was an executive officer, who was entrusted with the collection of local taxes, and repair and maintenance of local temples, while *adhikari*, a special officer, had to conform the grants of land and even to lead his contingent of troops when conscripted. *Tantrimar* had the right to associate with the *sabha* in its work. There were other officers *nattunayakkar*, superintendent of *nadu*, *gaudike* and *sthalagaudiki* and *madhyastha* (mediator).

The administration of the Bahmanis was based on the pattern of the Delhi Sultanate. The king was the apex of the system and enjoyed absolute powers. He was the chief executive, supreme commander of the forces, highest court of appeal and sometimes even a preacher. He was shadow of the God on earth. The only limitation to his power was the shariah or the tenets of the Holy Quran. The Bahmani kings acknowledged the supremacy of the Abbasid Caliphs and on their coins they designated themselves as "right hand of the Caliphate." The king was assisted by a council of ministers who retained the office at his will. The prime minister was known as *vakil-us-sultanate*. The *amir-i-jumla* was the finance minister. *Amir-i-Ashraf* or foreign minister looked after external affairs. *Vazir-i-Kul* was the auditor-general. *Sadi-i-Jahan* was the head of the judiciary. Besides, there were other officers such as *kotwal* and *nazir* (finance secretary), and *qur beg-*

i-maisarah, commander of the right wing and qur beg-i-mainanah, commander of the left wing.

The sultan conducted most of his business at the darbar and dewan meetings. The darbar was a large assembly where were present the ministers, the nobles, and the officials. General complaints and grievances and reports from provincial governments were considered and decisions taken. The darbar was usually held every Friday morning. The dewan meetings were held by the king everyday with his ministers. These meetings were held in camera and all important decision were taken there. Some of the officers entrusted with the administration of the royal household were wakil-i-dar (chief superintendent of royal palace), barbak (master of ceremonies in the court), hajib (who arranged the darbar and transmitted royal messages), saa-jandaaz (commander of personal body guards), akhur bak (superintendent of royal horses), shahnah-i-fil (superintendent of elephants), shahnah-i-khwan (superintendent of the royal kitchen), sarabdar (superintendent of water supply), chasnigir (taster), etc.

The system of Iqtas was adopted by the Bahmanis from the Delhi Sultans. In fact, this system was prevalent in ancient India when large tracts of land were granted in lieu of military service. The Turkish Sultans in the north took possession of all such land and distributed it among their followers who were expected to keep law and order and maintain a standing army. The surplus income, if any, was to be deposited in the royal treasury. In ancient India, it was hereditary but the Bahmanis like the Delhi sultans ordained that the estate reverted to the state after death of the muqlai (or the recipient).

Provincial Administration

The Bahmani kingdom was divided into four divisions on provinces during the time of the founder of the dynasty—Ala-ud-din, Bahman Shah. His son Mohammad called these provinces as tarafs each under a tarafdar. These provincial governors enjoyed vast powers, “collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made all appointments both civil and military in their provinces.” They were, however, held in check as long as a strong king ruled at the centre. Under weak rulers, they tried to defy the authority of the Sultan. Mahmud Gawan was fully conscious of the problem and introduced reforms to curb their authority. He raised the number of the provinces or tarafs to eight and the governors were allowed to keep control of

only one fort, the rest of the fortresses in a province under qiladars were directly responsible to the Sultan. These tarafdars could be transferred and the sultan also visited each province at least once a year. Some of these tarafdars were also sometimes ministers at the court. Gawan, for example, a vakil-us-sultanat to Humayun Shah (1458-1461) was tarafdar of Bijapur at the same time. He retained this charge even as amir-i-jumla and vazir-i-kul, khawaja jahan, vakil to Nizam Shah Bahamani (1461-63), was the tarafdar of Telingana. Every taraf was divided into several sarkars or districts which were further subdivided into parganas or tahsils. A pargana consisted of a number of villages.

Judicial Administration

The judicial administration was entrusted to qazis and sadr-i-jahan. They tried both civil and criminal cases. In important cases the views of the muftis were sought and the case referred to sadr-i-jahan for his decision. In case the latter did not agree with the judgement of the lower court, he forwarded the case to the king with his recommendation. Firuz Shah Bahmani set up a daftar-ishahi under vakil-us-sultanat. Every important case had to be referred to this department by sadr-i-jahan. Vakil-us-sultanat, in his turn, brought these cases to the notice of the king. Amanna and thanadars tried criminal cases of both Hindus and Muslims in villages and talukas and forwarded them to the qazis. The shariah was followed in all such cases.

The king was of course the final court of justice but he heard only a few cases in sadr-i-adalat.

Land Revenue

The land revenue was fixed at 1/6th of the gross produce. Gawan's systematic survey and classification of the land according to its fertility and facilities available for marketing, etc. led to variation in the rate of revenue. The non-arable land was not taxed or a very nominal rent was charged. The land attached to mosques and temples seemed to have been exempted from taxation. Another source of state revenue was the custom duty. It varied according to the commodity imported. For example, for a horse or an elephant, it was one dinar while for a buffalo it was one fanam each. For gold and silver it was Rs. 7-8-0 per Rs. 100.

Postal Services

The postal services were fairly well maintained. Dak chowkies

were established at every 3 miles and letters were passed on from one chowki to another by runners of horsemen. The post office was called "chapar khana."

Military Administration

Bahmanis were surrounded by powerful neighbours such as Vijayanagar, and Malwa who were anxious to annex their territory. It was, therefore, necessary even for their survival to keep a well-equipped army. Amir-ul-umara or the commander-in-chief was at the head of the military organisation. He had 1500 soldiers under his direct command besides other officers commanding 1000, 500, 300 and 100 soldiers. These officers were given fiefs or fixed amount of money to enable them to keep the required number of soldiers. The central army consisted of 50,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry in Sultan Hasan's time. The number increased substantially during the reigns of later kings. Tarafdar or the governor headed the army in the provinces. He was expected to maintain 10,000 soldiers. The Bahmani army was divided into 'Laskars' which was a self-sufficient unit having its own elephants and infantry. The Bahmanis kept a large store of fire-arms including guns. Mir Atish was in charge of the atish khana.

NIZAM SHAHIS

The state during Nizam Shahi period was theocratic in nature. All the necessary elements of theocracy, the sovereignty of God and government by direction of God through priests and in accordance with the divine law were present. The Nizam Shahi sultans considered themselves as deputies or vice-regents of God on earth. They were given honorific titles such as "Candle of the family of khilafat." Lord of the world and mankind." In theory, the power of the sultan was undisputed. He was the fountain head of all authority. He was "the supreme governor of the realm, the final court of appeal, the chief law giver and the chief commander of forces." In spite of this, he could not afford to be an absolute despot. He had to abide by the shariat, listen to the advice of the ulema and theologians and avoid such unpopular measures which may lead to rebellion. Moreover, there was a council of ministers which advised the king on all political and religious matters. It was not a regularly constituted body nor was the number of its members or its tenure fixed. They held office at the pleasure of the king.

The prime minister was the highest office next only to the king. He was the chief adviser to the sultan who would frequently hold

confidential and secret talks with him. In fact, most of the important matters were decided by the king in consultation with the prime minister. He was given the title of wakil or peshwa. He supervised the work of the various departments including the department of revenue and finance. He was assisted by a diwan who looked after the revenue department. All transactions and payments were first checked by him and later on counter-signed by the wakil or peshwa. He did not enjoy the powers of the Mughal diwan as he had to work directly under the peshwa. He was assisted in his work by nazirs (superintendents). There is ample evidence to support the assumption that the Nizam Shahis continued to maintain a department of law and justice. The king was the highest court of appeal. He decided the cases in consultation with the qazis and muftis. While Ahmad Nizam Shah was quiet lenient in awarding punishment and would let off an accused if he admitted his guilt, Burhan Nizam Shah I had ordered that "a chain of justice should be hung in the plains of Kala Chabutra". Jahangir adopted this practice later. He had made it a practice to hear appeals at Ahmadnagar where he would invite leading jurists. The department of endowment and trusts was quite important. It dealt with all the money given in charity by the state nobles and other philanthropists.

The wazir headed this department and was assisted by mutwallis. The department of public works supervised the construction of all state buildings waterworks, mosques, etc. It was also responsible for laying out canals and gardens. A wazir or minister was in charge of this department with a chief engineer to assist him. Some of the important canals laid out during Nizam Shah times were kapurwadi channel, negabai canal, shendi channel, bhinanga channel, nagapur channel and varulvadi channel. Many beautiful gardens were laid out during the period of Nizam Shah kings. The most important of them was begh-i-hasht bahisht, completed under the supervision of Malid Ahmad Tabrizi. Under the orders of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, a magnificent garden house called farah baksh was constructed by Nizam Khan Samnani. But, unfortunately, this was pulled down at the instigation of certain nobles who were hostile to Nimat Khan. It was reconstructed by Salabat Khan. He also planted a large number of flowers and fruit trees.

The most important department was of course that of military which looked after the recruitment, training and equipment of soldiers. There was quite a few karkhanas or factories which produced various

types of cannons. The largest of these cannons known as malik-i-maidan can still be seen in the Bijapur fort.

The Nizam Shahi sultans were keen to keep an efficient and well equipped army as they were surrounded by hostile states. Their meagre resources and the hilly nature of the country did not allow them to keep a large standing army. Their army was composed of two types of soldiers. The *bergis* who formed the regular army and were paid by the state directly. Secondly, there were soldiers who were maintained by the *silehdars*. The latter were paid by the state an annual sum, according to the number of soldiers kept by them. Besides the regular three divisions of the army viz. infantry, cavalry and artillery, the sultans also kept a navy which was essential to protect the coast line. Malik Ambar maintained a strong fleet and strengthened the strong naval base at Janjira near Rajgad. Cavalry was, however, the most important. The hilly nature of the country facilitated mobility of the soldiers on horse backs. Moreover, it was of immense help in guerilla warfare which the Nizam Shahi sultans had developed. Later on, this technique was perfected by the Marathas and used so effectively against the Mughals. This department was under commander-in-chief who was directly responsible to the prime minister. There were a large number of forts scattered throughout the hilly country. Each fort was under a *kotwal* who had a number of junior officers. The smaller forts were managed by local offices who were Marathas, Kolis and Dhongars.

The Nizam Shahi kingdom was divided into provinces. The most important of them were Bir, Berar, Junnar and Chaul. Each suba or province was under a governor who was directly appointed by the king. He exercised almost all the power of sultan in the area under his control. He was the executive as well as judicial head. He was required to maintain a fixed number of soldiers which he had to send when the Sultan required. He had a number of officers to assist him in his multifarious duties. Each province was divided into districts or *sarkars*. The *Faujdar* was the chief officer in the *sarkar*. There was a *kotwal*, *qazi*, a revenue collector and treasurer to assist him. Districts were further divided into *parganas*, *kuryat*, *simt*, *malal* and *taluka*. Sometimes they carried Hindi nomenclature of *prant* or *desh*.

ADIL SHAHI

The administrative set-up in the Bijapur kingdom was on the same pattern as in its sister sultanate of Ahmadnagar. These states had

inherited the traditions of the parent state, the Bahmanis. The sultan was the head of the administration and enjoyed unfettered powers. He was assisted by a number of senior officers such as the vakil, the vazir, the peshwa, amir-i-jumla, sarsilchdar, sar-i-naubat, amir-ul-umara, chief naikvadi and chitnis. All these officers were in charge of their respective departments known as diwans. These officers alone with the sultan constituted the central establishment or the rakhtakanas who issued orders on behalf of the central government. Each of them had been assigned certain parganas as jagirs which they administered. They, thus functioned both as agents of the central government as well as the chief administrators of the parganas allotted to them.

The highest office under the sultan was that of the chief minister, vakil, vazir or sometimes the peshwa held that pre-eminent position. It seems that vakil retained that status under the early sultans. However, during the time of the later sultans, vazir attained the position of a chief minister. The office of the peshwa never became permanent. Sometimes even the officer of the amir-i-jumla was equated with that of the vakil.

The country was divided into subas or province which were administered by governors. Sometimes a governor appointed a deputy to act in his place. The provinces were divided into districts which were further parcelled out into talukas, prant or desh.

The chief revenue collector was mokasadar. His appointment was originally for short period but later on this officer not only during his life time but was also succeeded by his son. He supervised the work of the regular government agent the amil.

Bijapur had a large number of Hindu officers than any other Muslim state in the Deccan. They held high posts in civil and military departments. Some of them were granted jagirs. Some of the prominent Hindu officers were Chandrarav. More of Javli, Naik, Nimbalkar of Phaltan, Jhungar Rav Ghatge of Malvadi, Daphale of Jath, Mane of Mhasvad and Ghorpade of Kapsi.

Judiciary

As in other contemporary Muslim states in the Deccan and in northern India, sultan was the fountain head of justice and the highest court of appeal. There are frequent inferences to the royal court of justice over which the king presided. He was advised by the ulema and

the brahmans. Next to the sultan was the chief justice or the chief qazi. Vazirs and amirs were the other officers of the judiciary who administered justice in the areas under their jurisdiction. They would nominate their deputies who performed this function in consultations with the majlis. The decision of the majlis had the legal authority. Before bringing the cases before the majlis, the government officers at the centre as well as in the districts tried to settle the disputes between the parties concerned and the gota. The government officers' judicial duties included registration of suits, supervision of the proceedings of the gotasabha and execution of the orders of the majlis.

The government officers of a pargana were the diwan, the qazi havaldar and the majalasi or sabhasad. Other officers were deshmukh and deshpande, besides watandars and mirasdars. The jurisdiction of the pargana majlis were confined to civil cases only.

The thanedar of a tarf or karyat acted as the primary judicial authority which was confined to civil suits only. Sometimes the pargana and the thana majlis were called at the fort in the division to try cases.

It is, thus, apparent that the administrative, judicial and revenue structure at the village, taluka and district level continued as before and was left mostly to the local people. The traditional institutions such as the "village panchayat, the gotsabhas, the mahazars, the hereditary watandars, patil, kulkarni, deshmukh and deshpande reduced to a great extent any effective interference from the courts of these kingdoms."

QUTB SHAHI

The Qutb Shahi sultan, like his counterparts in other Deccan kingdoms, was the pivot of the administration and enjoyed absolute executive, judicial and military powers. He had an advisory council called majlis-i-kingash in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. Later on in the time of Abdullah Qutb Shah. It became a regular body and came to be known as majlis-i-diwandari or privy council. The members of this body were nominated by the king from amongst his senior nobles in whom he had full confidence. The sultan presided over this meeting. It should, however, be clearly understood that his was neither a permanent body nor the sultan was bound to consult it.

Peshwa was the highest official though during the time of the early Qutb Shahi kings, mir jumla enjoyed a premier position. The Peshwa as the prime minister was over-all in-charge of administration.

He governed the state in the name of the king. He was assisted by a large number of ministers. We have very little information about the portfolios or nomenclature of the various ministers. But they were all addressed as *zi-shaukat* which literally means 'His Exalted Highness.' Jagirs were bestowed on all the ministers who were required to furnish troops whenever required by the sultan.

The central secretarial consisted of two secretaries. *Dabir-ul-mamlik* was the chief secretary while *dabir* was the term used for the post of the secretary. He was incharge of the office called "*diwan-i-insha*." He looked after the royal correspondence. There is also reference to the post of *majumdar* or accountant-general.

There were a number of offices in the Imperial capital which enjoyed a unique position. There was the *kotwal* who looked after law and order and even sometimes he handled judicial cases. Of course, there was a *qazi* to decide civil cases among Muslims. Hindu cases were decided according to their own law. *Sarkhel*, was the chief revenue officer whose jurisdiction also extended to the provinces.

Provincial Administration

The governor enjoyed almost the same power in the province as the sultan at the centre. The provinces had been given to senior nobles who administered them as independent rulers. We have not many details about the system of provincial administration but it was more or less on the same pattern as in other Deccan sultanates.

Simt was the unit of the local Government which may perhaps be equated to districts. *Sarsimt* was the chief officer who was assisted by a *havaladar*. The main duty of this officer was to collect revenue. The officer of the *sarsimt* was usually held by a *brahman* or a *bania*.

There were many ports in *Qutb Shahi* dominions. Each port was put under the charge of an officer who was known as *Shah Bandar*.

Ambassadors at the Capital

There were a number of accredited representatives from other countries. Some were permanently posted in the Imperial capital as for example, the ambassadors of Iran, *Bijapur*, *Ahmednagar* etc. They were designated *hajib-i-muqimi*. *Qutb Shahis* being shiahs showed special favour to the Iranian representative. He was given the honorific title of *hajib-i-azimush shah*. Sometimes certain envoys visited the Imperial city with some special mission. They were known as *hajib-i-maslihati*.

MARATHAS

Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha kingdom, was a self-taught man. He never got an opportunity to see the working of the administration at a great capital or royal court. Unlike Ranjit Singh or Mahadaji Sindhia, he had no French advisers to assist him in this work. His administration and military systems were his own creations. He studied the ancient works on Hindu policy and also borrowed some of the essential features of organizational set up by the contemporary Muslim states of Deccan.

Shivaji's liberal and practical bent of mind induced him to use the Persian language in the court and adopt Islamic designations for many of the posts in his court. There was complete centralization of administration in his time. Shivaji as Chhatrapati was the supreme head of the Maratha state and directed all its activities. He was assisted by a council of eight ministers who may appropriately be called advisers. They looked after the different departments such as collection of revenue, administration of justice, defence, religious affairs, etc. However, in actual practice, they acted merely as secretaries and the official decisions in almost all cases were taken by Shivaji himself.

He was shrewd enough to perceive that the main cause of friction in the society was the system of collection of revenue through intermediaries—the zamindars. He dispensed with this institution and appointed government officials to collect land revenue direct from the ryots. He also introduced a standard system of measurement and ordered a fresh survey to be made. Annaji Datto was appointed its chief. He abolished all extra taxes and cesses and fixed a consolidated rent of 40 per cent.

Shivaji hardly had the time to make any fundamental changes in the administrative system as he was engaged throughout his life in fighting wars against the neighbouring Deccan states or the Mughals. However, it is no small tribute to his genius that the system he evolved lasted, with minor modifications, for over a century.

The mukhya pradhan, or the chief minister was in overall charge of the administration of the Empire. He held no particular portfolio but supervised and coordinated the working of all the departments and kept harmony among the ministers. His seal was affixed in all royal letters just below that of the king. He acted on behalf of the king in his absence.

Mukhya pradhan or Peshwa as he came to be known improved his position considerably during the time of Sahu who lacked the commanding, talents and energy of his grandfather. His post became hereditary from the time of Balaji Vishwanath. On his death-bed, Sahu granted plenary powers to the Peshwas who thus became the virtual rulers of the Maratha state. Some of the Maratha chiefs who felt disgruntled, were overawed. Thus, the Peshwas became supreme. It was not an unmixed blessing.....the Maratha empire reached its peak under the rule of the capable Peshwas, "it aggravated the centrifugal tendencies of the Maratha state, especially the enmity between the Brahman and Maratha, which were at least kept in check while a member of the house of Bhosle actually ruled after the Peshwa's prestige was shaken by the defeat of Panipat, the disintegration became more and more evident." It not only emphasised the feudalizing process but also led to the assertion of Brahmanical authority. The administration was no longer open to all classes and castes as in the days of Shivaji. All the important offices were now held by Brahmans. To quote M.S. Ranade, "the state ceased to be the ideal protector of all classes and upholder of equal justice." Ramdas's high ideal of the religion of Maharashtra was lowered down to one in keeping with the belief that the state "had no higher function than to protect the cow and the brahman, and the usual consequences followed such as decadence of virtue." Amalya or majumdar was the finance minister who checked all accounts of state income and expenditure and countersigned all public accounts.

Mantri: He kept a record of the daily activities of the king, checked the list of the invites to banquets, supervised his meals to check poisoning, etc. He was incharge of the intelligence department and kept himself informed of the happenings in the various parts of the empire.

Sachiv: He was in charge of royal correspondence drafted letters and despatches and placed them before the king for his signatures. He also checked the accounts of the markets and parganas.

Senapati: He was commander-in-chief and led the army in times of war.

Pandit Rao or Danadhyaksha was head of the ecclesiastical department. He looked after all religious matters and as royal chaplain performed the ceremonies for the king. He also distributed grants among the needy and Brahmans. He was the censor of public morals.

Nayayadhish was the chief justice. He was the highest judicial authority and tried both civil and criminal cases. Excepting the adhyaksha and nayayadish, all other ministers held military commands and were expected to lead expeditions whenever called upon to do so.

Besides these members of the council of ministers, there were other important officers. The chitnis looked after the royal correspondence was also addressed letters to provincial and district officers. Dabir usually handled the correspondence with foreign courts with the exception of the Mughal emperor and the Muslim states of Deccan which were entrusted to paranis. The Peshwa's secretariat at Poona was known as huzur-daftar. It was a big organisation having a staff of about 200 person. It was divided into several departments such as chatle-daftar, and the ek-benz daftar. The latter dealt with secret and confidential papers.

Provincial Administration

Shivaji divided his kingdom into prants or provinces. There were four provinces at the time of his death. Each of these provinces were placed under a viceroy who were also members of the ashtapradhana. He was assisted by a staff of eight officers. The prants were sub-divided into parganas and these into tarafs. The tarfas were divided into village units. The head of the prant was a viceroy or desadhihari and that of a taraf, a havaldar. These terms were used loosely during the time of the Peshwas. The mamlatdar corresponded roughly to the desadhihari of Shivaji and was directly responsible to the Peshwa. It seems that the mamlatdars were required to pay a large sum for their appointment to that office. In later times this offices came to be auctioned and the highest bidder among the Peshwa's attendants was appointed. Naturally, these mamlatdars levied extra taxes on the people under their charge to retrieve this amount. However, there was a check on the mamlatdars whose accounts were not passed till corroborated by desh mukhs. Besides darakhadars or office holders, dewan, mazumdar (auditor), phadnavis (registrar), distardar (secretary), potnis (treasurer), potdar, etc. all of whom were appointed by the Peshwa served as check on the mamlatdar. In villages, the patel collected the revenue and the Kulkarni kept the accounts. The village panchayat continued as before to look after the administrative, judicial and other welfare functions.

Shivaji abolished the jagir system and paid the salaries of officers in cash. The revenues were collected directly from the cultivators by

the government officials and deposited in the royal treasury. The state's share was fixed after a proper survey and measurement of the land under cultivation and expected produce of each bigha of land. Besides Shivaji levied chauth and sardeshmukhi on the neighbouring tracts to augment his resources. Chauth or one-fourth of the standard revenue, was a sort of military contribution which was realized by the Marathas from neighbouring territories. It secured these states from further Maratha depredations. Sardeshmukhi was an additional levy of 10 per cent realized from these states.

II

Vijayanagar rulers were defenders of Hinduism in the south and assumed such honorific titles as "protector of the varnasramadharma" and the "helpers of the four castes." In fact, it was the main task of the Vijayanagar rulers to forge unity among the various castes and communities that inhabited the vast empire. Brahmans no doubt occupied an exalted position. They could not be sentenced to death whatever crime they committed. Brahmans held important posts in almost all spheres, political, administrative and military besides priestly. Krishnadevaraya held the brahmans in high esteem and appointed them to high position. The traveller Linschoten observes: "The Brahmans are the honestest and the most esteemed Nation among the Indian Heathens, for they does always serve in the chiefest places about the king as Receivers. Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like places." But at Paes observes very few of them served in the army. Most of the Brahmans led a pious life and performed their priestly duties. Their dress was also very simple. They usually dressed themselves in a langota but when they went out they had a "thinne cotten linen gowne called cabaia lightly caste over their shoulders and hanging down the grounds like some other Indians.....upon their heads they wear a whole cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they never cut off, but weare it long and turned up a the women do."

There were many other communities such as artisans, kaikkolas, barbers, dombaras, etc. Artisans consisted of blacksmith, goldsmiths, brassmiths, carpenters, etc. All these classes were fighting amongst themselves and wanted some social privileges particularly certain honours in public festivals and in temples. Their quarrels sometimes led to allocation of separate quarters in the city. Kaikkolas lived in the neighbourhood of temples and had separate streets reserved for their

residence. Barbers were also recipient of special favour. Domboras earned their livelihood by showing acrobats. They lived miserably in thatched houses with mats of straw. Then there were the valangai and idangai or right hand and left hand group each of which possessed some ninety-eight subjects. The division of the people into two groups was mainly due to certain privileges enjoyed by them on certain socio-religious occasions.

The occupation of the Tamil country by Telugu and the Kanarese led to the suppression of the older inhabitants who had to take up the menial work. Among this class we may mention Tottiyans, Sourastras and the Reddis. Tottiyans were originally shepherds and later on became petty poligars. The sourastras were originally Gujaratis who migrated to Vijayanagar. They were rival to Brahmans and assumed Brahman title. They were able to get some of the privileges of Brahmans and also quarrelled with them on social rights. Reddis were mostly agriculturists and were divided into two classes—the Pongala Reddis and the Panta Reddis.

A large number of people belonging to various castes and communities migrated to South India. Included among them were Telugu brahmans, uppilians or salt manufacturers, spinners, dyers, washermen, workers, etc.

The custom in those days did not allow girls for whatever reasons to remain in their parents' home for more than 6 to 8 years after birth. The rigidity of the custom, together with the celebration of the marriage at a very early age, left no room whatsoever, for either the bride or the bridegroom to have time to think of a partner of their choice. Dowry was prevalent though there was some resentment particularly when the land had to be sold to outsiders to defray the expenses of the marriage. Of the eight forms of marriage allowed in Hindu scriptures, kanyadan was the most prevalent. The evil of bride price was also prevalent. But the society, particularly the Brahman community tried to check it by arriving at a common agreement by which all those including in this practice were liable to be punished by the king and excluded from the community. As in the north, the girl was brought up under close parental supervision and was married without the consent. When married, she was under the control of her mother-in-law. If she failed to come up to the expectation of mother-in-law, she might be divorced in a Muhammedan family and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. But when grown up and away from the domineering

influence of her mother-in-law, she had a big say in the management of her household. The position of women with regard to their husbands was that of a dependent, in honourable subordination at least, as long as mutual relations remained cordial.

Monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower society. Polygamy was the privilege of the nobles and the wealthy. The king of course, kept a large number of wives.

The custom of sati was prevalent. Even the betrothed girls had to commit sati on the funeral prayer of their would be husbands. Almost all the foreign travellers—Barbosa (1514), Nuniz (1535-36), Caesar Frederick (1567), Linschoten (1583), and Della Valle (1623) have left a detailed account of the performance of sati. Some travellers such as Caesar Frederick observe that the wives committed sati 3 or 4 months after the death of their husbands. Nuniz refers to the custom of the Lingayats who buried their wives along with their husbands. Some contemporary inscriptions make us believe that the sati was no compulsory but was left to the will of the widows. It, however, seems that most of the widows preferred to immolate themselves with their husbands to escape the harsh treatment by the society. They were not allowed to wear any jewels or ornaments, their hair were shaved off. These unfortunate widows were treated no better than maids and were hated and despised by the society.

Whatever might have been the position of a women as a girl, bride and widow, she certainly occupied a most respectable position in society as a mother. Paes writes about Vijayanagar women, "They (the Brahmans) are all married and have got very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring and very seldom leave the house."

Like all other kings, the Vijayanagar emperors had large harems. A few of them were regarded principal queens. For example, Krishnadevaraya had twelve wives, of whom three were the principal ones. Some of the queens accompanied the king to the battlefield. The presence of these women was also essential in the Court on certain festivals such as Mahanavami. Apart from the courtesans who were attached to the palace, there were many others who were attached to the temples and danced and sang before the gods to please them. They were known as *devaradiyals*.

Some of the women attained high status in literary field. The most important of them was Gangadevi, wife of Kampana who wrote the

famous work *Virakamparayacharitam*. Tirumalamba was the authoress of *Varadambikaprinayan* which describes the marriage of Achyuta with Varadamba. Ramabhadramba wrote *Rajhunathabhyudayam*. She also mentions several accomplished poetesses and musicians.

Unlike the sultans and the Mughal kings in northern India, Vijayanagar emperors did not sit on thrones in the Court but instead sat on rich silken carpets reclining on cushions. However, on special occasions such as the Mahanavami festival, they used the throne. This festival was celebrated with great pomp and show for 9 days. In contrast to the practice of performing *kornish*, *sijdah* or *taslim* in the north, to the reigning monarch, the practice in Vijayanagar consisted of bowing of their heads and joining of their hands over their heads after that. The privilege of kissing the feet of the emperor was permitted only to a few favourite ones. It was customary for a visitor to offer a present to the king. In the North this was called 'nazrana'. The king used to chew betel quite frequently, and, therefore, there was always present a betel bearer who was a person of high position. The king seldom wore a garment more than once. These were gifted away. Many travellers have described the pageantry of the royal procession when the king rode out. The curious reader may refer to the accounts of the contemporary travellers such as Paes and Du Jarric. Besides two thousand officers, at least his 200 personal horsemen followed the king. There were also about hundred elephants with high officials seated in the howdahs who accompanied the king.

Betels

Betel leaf was in common use among all classes. It was generally chewed after meals but most of the people went on chewing it throughout the day. Abdur Razzak attributes its use of its intoxicating qualities. It was also used on ceremonial occasions. In Vijayanagar dancing women were allowed to use the betel leaf in the presence of the king.

Most of the games in vogue in medieval times with the exception of cinema and flying were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Playing cards, chess, chaupar, etc. were no doubt practised and Krishnadevaraya's daughters appeared to have been expert in chess. However, there was greater emphasis on games which required physical prowess. Wrestling was given the first place and even the King participated in it. Paes mentions that

Krishnadevaraya used to wrestle everyday. According to the same traveller, there were about one thousand wrestlers who were paid from the royal treasury. Duels were very common. But the king's formal permission was necessary in each case. Sometimes, there were duels to settle personal scores or even to win a woman. There were gymnasiums for the purpose. There is a reference to a gymnasium at Tanjore. Hunting and horse-riding were other pastimes. Besides these games, there were also, theatre, dance and music performances.

Mahanavami was the most important festival celebrated in Vijayanagar empire. It was held in honour of Goddess Durga when she killed the demons Bhandasura, Chanda and Munda. It had another significance. It was connected with the worship of Indra for plenty and prosperity. The festival lasted nine days during which period the King held the court in public. Animal sacrifices were made to propitiate the goddess. Dances, wrestling matches and other festivities were held. The king reviewed the military on the concluding day. Foreign travellers particularly Nicolo De Conti and Linschoten have left a very lively and detailed account of the festivals. Some other festivals which were celebrated with great enthusiasm were Deepavali which commemorated the death of Narakasura at the hands of Visnu, Karttigai, in honour of death of Bali by Visnu and Holl when they sprinted scented and even suffron water on each other.

The Vijayanagar empire was a densely populated and flourishing state. This is amply borne out by the accounts of the contemporary travellers including Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razzak, Barbosa and Nikitin. Mahalingam in his "Economic Life in the Vijayanagar Empire" estimates the population to be not less than 14 million. The Vijayanagar empire at that time included the present Tamil Nadu state excepting the districts north of river Krishna, Malabar, Travancore and Cochin. It, however, included the present Karnataka state. While studying the economic condition of the people, Mahalingam divides the populations into two broad classes—the consumers and the producers. The former class included the aristocracy, the nobles, officers of the government at the centre and the provinces, the army, the police, teachers, priests, the traders besides domestic servants, etc. The producing classes included agriculturists, artisans weavers, oil presses, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, idol makers, etc. The upper classes which comprised nobles, feudal chiefs, and high government officials lived a luxurious life like their counterparts in North India. They lived in

spacious houses with unclosed courts and tanks. Many streets in the capital particularly those leading to the King's palace, according to the traveller Paes, had rows of beautiful houses on either side. Another traveller Abdur Razzak observes that the houses of the rich at Bidrupey looked like palaces. The nayaks or the feudal chiefs in the provinces lived in great style. The annual income of high military officers was about Rs. 47,000. Their food was very much rich and they partook of all sort of fruits and other delicacies. The Portuguese merchant-traveller Barbosa observed that the upper classes of Malabar "are a luxurious people who can eat and drink a good deal and have other bad habits." Many of them ate mutton, pork, venison, partridges, hares, doves, quails, etc. excepting beef. However, Brahmans and the Lingayats were vegetarians. Their food consisted of rice, butter, honey, sugar, curries of various vegetables, rasam, etc. They also took a lot of fruits, such as mangoes, coconut, bananas, etc. The king and even nobles took their food in silver or gold utensils. Barbosa describes their dress which consisted of "certain clothes, as a girdle below wound very tightly in many folds and short white shirts or cearee brocade which are carried between things but open in front." They wore turbans of silk or brocade caps on their heads. They used shoes and umbrellas. The dress of the women consisted of silk or thin cotton garments. Their shoes were embroidered. They had plenty of jewels and ornaments to adorn their bodies with. The travellers Barbosa and Nuniz refer to the various merchant families of Vijayanagar such as the chettis and the mallays and those of the Malabar coast who were very rich and carried on trade with the eastern countries. They wore ornaments of gold and other precious metals and had spacious houses in selective localities. The women used perfumes and anointed themselves with white sandalwood, aloes camphor, etc. They also applied saffron or musk to their breasts in winter. They decorated their hair with flowers.

The middle class which included teacher, scholars; physicians, junior nobles and even soldiers in the king's army were also well off. The monthly pay of the latter ranged between Rs. 22 to 28. Artisans, weavers, barbers, washermen, leather workers at the lower rung of the society were able to make both ends meet. The houses of the classes of persons were arranged according to their occupation in various streets.

But then there were large number of labourers, peasants, petty shopkeepers and slaves who found it extremely hard to earn their livelihood. Abdur Razzak who visited the Deccan in the 15th century

refers to the prosperity of the people living in the Vijayanagar empire. "The country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile.....King's treasury and chambers, with excavations in them were filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down the artifices of the bazar wear jewels and ornaments." Firishta in his *Tarikh* also asserts that even the poor in the Deccan wore gold ornaments. The custom of wearing ornaments by the classes of people was no doubt, true but as far as the condition of the ordinary people was concerned, Abdur Razzak's account seems to be true only in case of the rich and middle classes. We have contemporary evidence of many travellers which testify to the miserable condition of the poor classes. Nuniz, Varthema and many other travellers who visited South India during the 15th and 16th centuries speak about the poverty and distress of the ryots. Nikitin observes: "The land is overstocked with people but those in the country are very miserable, while the nobles are extremely affluent and delight in luxury." Swell in his famous work, "The Forgotten Empire," quotes the traveller Varthema in support of his contention that the ryots in southern India were an oppressed class who "lived in the greatest poverty and distress."

The miserable condition of the ryots was mainly due to the heavy taxation which remained unchanged even during times of scarcity and the people had no alternative but to sell their lands. Sometimes the people joined hands and protested but mostly they bore the burden or migrated to other places. The poor people lived in thatched houses. Linschoten writes: "Their household stuffe is a mat upon the ground to sleep upon, and a pit or hand in ground to beat their rice in, with a pot or two to seethe in it, and so they live and gain much, as it is a wonder." Their food was very simple and was served on plantain leaves. Their dress, too, consisted of a girdle tied round their middle. They wore a small turban on their heads. Shoes were hardly used. Paes rightly observes that majority of the people would go about barefooted. Thus, it seems that there was great disparity between the condition of the rich and the poor and the state did not do much to alleviate the sufferings except on rare occasions when there was acute famine and the State tried to afford relief.

The Vijayanagar empire like the rest of the country was self-sufficient. The people's needs were few and could be met. There were quite a large number of industries which may be grouped under

following heads—agricultural manufacture, mines and metallurgy, handicrafts, textile and fisheries. Among the agriculture products were the manufacture of sugar, oil, dyes, coir, mat, umbrellas, etc. There were diamond mines at Kurnool and Anantpur. Many travellers have referred to the precious diamonds dug out of these mines which were sold at fantastic prices. Gold mining also yielded rich dividends. The area from Mysore to Hyderabad was particularly rich in it. Iron mines were found in Mysore. The other mines which were found in large quantities were sulphur and copper. Salt was manufactured near the sea coast. A large number of craftsmen, goldsmiths, jewellers and silversmiths were engaged in the production of various articles. Besides, wood was extensively used in the manufacture of carriages, palangins, stupas and boats. Leather goods particularly shoes were also manufactured, though majority of the people went barefooted. The pottery industry was mostly confined to rural areas. Various kinds of utensils were made by the potter for the use of poor people. Textile industry was quite flourishing. Cotton was manufactured in and around Coimbatore. The other centres of cotton manufacture, were Pulicat, Budehal and in Guntur. Some of the best variety of cloth manufactured in Vijayanagar were tzinde (silk cloth with red stripes), sallalo (blue and black cloth), paw (silk cloth), and cotton cloth of various varieties.

There was a great demand for horses and elephants. Horses were imported from Ormuz. In the early years of the 16th century, 2000 horses were received from Arabia alone. The price of a horse varied from 400 to 600 cruzados. Elephants were imported from Ceylon (Sri Lanka), as they were considered to be of good breeding. Devaraya II himself kept 800 elephants while the provincial governors kept a large number of them. The price of an elephant varied from 500 to 1500 cruzados.

Moreover, raw products such as spices, cloves, cardamom and cinnamon were imported from Sumatra, Moluccas and Ceylon. Opium came from China while saffron rose water and musk was imported from Jedda and Ava. Copper, quick silver, gold, silver, lead, iron, and tin came from Jedda, Aden, Mecca and other countries.

Finished articles of brassware were too imported from China. Caesar Frederick, visiting in 1567, noted that silk was imported from China. Jedda, Aden and other places also supplied scarlet cloth, camlets, traffetas. Indians were very fond of precious stones which were imported from Pegu, Ceylon and Ormuz.

Merchant guilds and craft guilds looked after trade and industry. The principal ports were Bhatkal, Mangalore, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, Kayal, Najapattinam and Pulicat. Portuguese merchants were shown favour.

Exports from Vijayanagar were mainly of rice, sugar, wheat and millet. Rice was exported to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) while coconut was sent to Aden and Ormuz. Pepper, cloves, ginger, and cinnamon were also in great demand in foreign countries. Ginger was particularly sent to Persia and Yemen. Similarly, there was great demand outside for such commodities as sandalwood, teakwood, besides henna, indigo, myrobalan. Iron had been exported to Arab countries for a long time. Indian textiles had a ready market in foreign markets particularly Ormuz, Malacca, Pegu, Sumatra and Bantam.

The standard coin of the Vijayanagar rulers was a gold which was known as varaha. Its weight was 52 grains. There were other coins of smaller denominations, half varaha or pratap of about 26 grains, quarter varaha or half pratap of about 13 grains and fanams of about 5.5 grains. There is a solitary example of a silver coin issued by Devaraya II (1422 A.D. 1446 A.D.). Sixty silver coins were valued for a varaha. Copper coins were in common use in Vijayanagar. Jilal was the lowest denomination and one hundred of them were equal to a varaha. Hanuman and Garuda were inscribed on the coins of the Yadavas of Sangama dynasty. This practice continued during the reigns of Bukka I and Harihara I. However, Harihara II introduced Lakshmi Narayan, and Lakshmi Narasimha on his coins. Devaraya II retained Uma-Mahesvara only on his coins. The influence of Vaishnavism led to the introduction of Venkatesa and his symbols, such as Sankha. Chakra and garuda on the coins issued during the period of Tirumala (1570 A.D. 1573 A.D.). Bull, however, continued to be used on the copper coins throughout the rule of Vijayanagar rulers.

Nagari, Kannada and Telugu were the three scripts used by the Vijayanagar rulers on their coins. Krishnadevaraya used Kannada script on copper coins while Nagari was used for all other coins. Durate Barbosa who was employed by the Portuguese Government in India, visited Vijayanagar between 1509 and 1514. He praised the currency system of Vijayanagar and noted the absence of false coinage.

III

BAHMANIS

For over three hundred years after the political advent of the Muslim in 1318 A.D. in Deccan, almost the whole of the peninsula north of the Tungabhadra remained under the control of the Muslim rulers. As long as it remained under the Delhi Sultans—the Khaljis and the Tughluqs—almost all the officers were Muslims. However, after the establishment of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347, there were quite a few Hindu officers who held posts of importance. In fact, some of the important chiefs such as Gharpades or Mudhol, the Nimbalkars of Phaltan, the Manes of Mhaswad and the Ghatges of Malawadi had helped in the overthrow of the alien rules. But they never attained the position of ministers. The internecine struggle for supremacy between the two important groups in the aristocracy—the Deccanis and the afaqis greatly contributed to the disintegration of the Bahmani empire. The former, being the sons of soil, considered the king and the people as their own. Many of them had migrated from northern India and had settled in Deccan. Their loyalty to the state was undoubted.

On the other hand, the afaqis were mostly vagrants who had come from foreign lands such as Iraq, Iran, Khorasan, and Central Asia in search of fortune and naturally had no such attachment to the state. Their loyalty, too, was extra territorial. But by hard work and adventurous spirit, they were able to impress the Sultans who appointed them on high places of trust and responsibility. Khalaf Hasan, a merchant from Basra, rose to the position of the Prime Minister in Ahmad's time. He appointed many of his comrades on important posts. Every there were matrimonial alliances with the royal family; Habibullah married the king's daughter. This policy of favouring the foreigners or non-mulkis, as they were called, continued in the reign of his successors. Ala-ud-Din which was greatly resented by the Deccanis or the mulkis. They took up the cause of his brother Muhammad and advocated the division of the kingdom. Their plan failed and led to further estrangement. Their next plot at Chakan, which has already been referred to, completely antagonised the Sultan.

The non-mulkis or pardesis regained their ascendancy and held all important posts during the reigns of Humayun Nizam and Muhammad. Their leader Muhammad Gawan was the most powerful noble at the court. They conspired against him and had him murdered

in 1481, as already stated. The climax was thus reached and the centrifugal tendencies which had been kept in check by his wise policy came to the fore. The disgruntled Deccani nobles and governors declared their independence in many provinces. The weak sultans at the centre were unable to suppress them. Secondly, Bahmanis had not been able to win over the support and sympathy of the Hindus who formed a large majority of the population. It is true they were not fanatics like Aurangzeb but they did not give any high posts to Hindus like Mughal Emperor Akbar. Therefore, the sultans were deprived of the valuable support of the masses. Thirdly, the military reforms of Gawan making it obligatory for the tarafdars and iqtadars to maintain the required number of troops alienated both the pardesi and the Deccani governors, who nurtured feeling of disloyalty towards the Bahmani rulers. Lastly, the incompetency and weakness of the later rulers Mahmud Shah and his successors hastened the downfall of the Bahmanis. The chastic conditions prevailing during the reign of the Bahmani ruler Mahmud Shah and his weak policy led to the revolt of the governors in the far flung provinces of the Empire which broke up with five independent principalities viz. the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur, the Imad Shahi, dynasty of Berar, the nizam Shahi dyasty of Ahmadnagar, the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golkonda and the Barid Shahi dynasty of Bidar.

The Muslim society comprised government officers, ulemas or religious leaders, traders and the slaves. Excepting the slaves, the other classes were well off. Most of the nobles lived luxurious lives but they also patronized art and education. The slaves led miserable life but some of them such as Yusuf Adil Khan, Malik Hasan and Qasim Barid attained high positions by sheer dint of merit. Muslim women were, however, required to observe pardah which led their complete stagnation. Their education was also neglected. It is, however, certain that many of them were educated enough to read the Quran and perhaps write letter. The middle classes which comprised traders, teachers, Qazis, etc. were well off. Barbosa's observation about the merchants in Calicut could as well apply to these classes in other parts of the Deccan. According to the traveller they were well dressed, ate well and kept horses and servants. The condition of the lower classes comprising peasants, artisans and labourers was however, miserable. The Russian traveller Nitikin had made a reference to it in his travelogue: "The land is overstocked with people but those in the country are very miserable."

It seems, however, that those engaged in cottage industries and such other avocations were a little better off.

Ulemas no longer were contented with interpretation of the Quran as was enjoined by the prophet. They aspired to positions in society with monetary benefits such as Sadr-i-sadur, Shaikh-ul-Islam, Quzi, Muhiasib, Mufti, etc. Bahamans showed favours to this class and some of them such as Faizullah Anju, Shaikh Siraj-ud-din Malik Saif-ud-din, Ghorī and even Gawan held the highest posts in the realm. It is also creditable to the class that they followed a tolerant policy towards non-Muslims and were not fanatics as some of their contemporaries in the North were.

Sufism took a firm hold in India. Imam Ghazali and Rumi were the leaders of this school in West Asia. In India, it was welcomed as its teachings and philosophy were so akin to Vedānta and Bhakti cult of the Hindus. Muin-ud-din Chishtī who founded his silsilah at Ajmer, borrowed many of the Hindu practices. For example, bhajan and kirtans were introduced as qawalis and *khanqah* was a substitute for the Hindu *maths*. Chishtī silsilah with its emphasis on love and the use of the heart as a media for attaining bliss. Chishtī silsilah spread throughout the country. Its chief protagonists were Nizam-ud-din Auliya in Delhi and Khwaja Bande Nawaz Gaisu-daraz in Gulbarga. The latter had migrated to Deccan during the reign of Firuz Shah Bahmani where he was welcomed by the Sultan who gave him an estate to continue his religio-social activities. But soon afterwards, he incurred the wrath of the King by supporting the claim of Ahmed.....brother to the throne in preference to the Sultan's son who was incompetent and foolish. The events took such a turn that ultimately Ahmed succeeded to the throne. Khwaja enjoyed immense popularity both among Hindus and Muslims and his *darbar* surpassed even that of the Sultan who decided to shift his capital to Bidar. He lived in Deccan for more than 24 years and died at the ripe age of 105, having written no less than 105 works. His famous book *Isma-ul-Israr* is considered an authority on Sufism. Love of humanity and service for the down-trodden irrespective of the caste and creed was the motto of his life. He considered service as the highest form of worship. He had his followers both among Hindus and Muslims. The other well-known sufis of Deccan were Muntajab-ud-din Zarzari Zar Bakhsh who migrated to Daulatabad at the instance of his master Nizam-ud-din Auliya of Delhi. He was succeeded by Burhan-ud-din Gharib. The teachings of these sufi saints led to the fusion of Hindu-Muslim culture.

Hinduism in the south was divided into two main sects—Saivism and Vaishnavism. Both these sects laid stress on “spiritual equality of all castes, the worship of idols, pilgrimages, suppression of desires, devotion and respect for animal life.” The Bhakti movement which was led in the south by Shankaracharya, Nathmuni, Ramanuja and Nimbarka was aimed at reforming the Hindu society. It condemned caste system and unnecessary rituals, laid stress on the unity of Godhead and brotherhood of man Jhaneshwar, a leading saint of Bhakti movement, played a leading role in demolishing social and religious barriers. He was instrumental in bringing the Maratha people together. This also led to establishing closer ties among the people of different faiths. Nath Sampradaya was another sect of the Hindu bhakti cult which flourished in Srisailam (Karnool district). The Nathapanthis were all jogis and wandered about the whole of the region. We may also refer here to the existence of another sect Mahanubhavas who refuted the vedic gods and believed only in their guru Chakradhara. However, they did not attract much following. The impact of Islam was most discernible in the Lingayat Movement which was started in Karnataka by Basava in the 12th century A.D. Like the Bhakti Movement, it advocated one God, and condemned rituals and discrimination on the basis of caste. But it went a step further and wanted its followers to give up the cremation, purificatory death ceremonies and adopt simple marriage rites. This movement spread with rapidity during the Bahmani period. The settlement of a large number of Muslims in the south gave a further impetus to this movement which led to softening of the rigidity of the caste system and re-emphasis on the oneness of God.

The overwhelming population of the Bahmani kingdom comprised of Hindus. There was, however, a colony of Jews in Konkan, the strip north of Chaul. These Jews had settled there from remote times and had become completely Indianized with Marathi as their mother tongue. They enjoyed complete freedom to practise their religion.

The pattern of Hindu society in the south was different from that of the north. Brahmans in the south were not only spiritual leaders but also served as ministers, generals and commanders. The next to Brahmans were the merchants, artisans, weavers, etc. The lowest class comprised jugglers, jogis, etc. Excepting the Brahmans who could not intermarry in the same kula and gotra, there were no such restrictions among the other castes. Among Reddis and Lingayats, for example, a

maternal uncle necessarily married his niece or his sister's daughter. Early marriages came to be in vogue in the south mainly due to the Muslim invasions and the uncertain political conditions. Divorce was allowed on certain conditions such as physical disability, importance, etc. Husband too could seek a divorce if the wife was unchaste or failed to give birth to a son. Remarriage of widows was prohibited. But this was permitted among lower classes. The custom of sati was prevalent. For example, Gurucharitra, a contemporary religious work, prohibits pregnant women to perform sati. In fact, it enjoins that only a courageous and brave lady should make this supreme sacrifice. In spite of it, however, this custom was widely prevalent. The system of dowry was prevalent particularly among higher classes.

Excepting Brahmans, the other castes could eat all kind of meat. Beef eating was, however, prohibited and was considered to be a sin. Drinking of intoxicants was common among Kshatriyas and the Sudras. Rice was the staple food of the people, high and low. The higher classes, however, used better quality of rice with curried paloes, curds and little milk.

Various kinds of vegetables and fruits were also served along with pickles, etc. Muslims were very fond of meat. Chappatis and puris of wheat were also taken by the well-to-do while the poor used jowar and bajra instead. A contemporary work (Radhipura Varnana) describes a sumptuous dinner which consisted of "fragrant rice with cooked pulses, puranpoli and various laddus, sweets and panceakes, khir, unusual kind of curries, pickles and preserves of various kinds, pappars, roasted and fried and other similar savouries including bhajis and varas." The feast was concluded with pan or betel-leaf.

The hot climate of Deccan did necessitate much clothing. A dhoti and a piece of cloth to cover the upper part of the body was the usual dress of the Hindu. Chappals were the common footwear, though many people went barefooted. The ordinary women had a piece of cloth wrapped round their waist and on upper garment while the rich used saris. Silk, brocade and other expensive materials were used on special occasions. The Muslims followed the pattern of dress in the north which consisted of tight trousers and shirts, and long coats or sherwani. Their shoes were pointed in front and open at the top. Muslim women wore trousers, over which was worn a long skirt as petticoat, their bodice was made of very fine material. Duppatta or orhani was used to cover the head as well as the upper part of the body. Women were very fond

of ornaments which were either made of gold or silver depending on the economic condition of the person.

IV

ADIL SHAHI

The overwhelming majority of the people in the Adil Shahi dominions were Hindus. Most of them were Marathas. Agriculture was their main occupation. Trade and industry also absorbed quite a large number of them. Muslim population could be broadly divided into three classes viz. those who originally came to Deccan and settled there; converts from Hinduism and lastly foreign immigrants. The Muslims were mostly employed in government service and lived in towns.

However, the Adil Shahis also employed a considerable number of non-Muslims in the government and gave them high positions. Some of the prominent Maratha families as already mentioned, were Shahji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji, Nimbalkars of Phaltan. Mores of Javli, Shirke, Mohite, Mane, Ghatge, Mahadik, etc. The Marathas served the Adil Shahis with loyalty and devotion and extended the sway of Adil Shahi kingdom to distant lands. It had been rightly said that the "Marathas were to Adil Shahi Sultanate what the Rajputs were to the Mughal Empire." Brahmans looked after the state accounts including the revenue while Marathas were entrusted with the collection of revenue. Hindus were also employed as envoys and ambassadors. The Mughal ambassador Asad Beg mentions that the counsellors of Ibrahim II were Hindus, Anu Pandit and Lakhu Pandit.

Adil Shahi kings were tolerant towards other religions. They allowed Hindus full freedom to practise their religion. Some of the Sultans made liberal grants to Hindu temples. Ali Adil Shah was a great admirer of Hindu philosophy and conversed with scholars and 'sannyasis' to learn the fundamentals of this religion. Ibrahim II's liberal nature won him the title of Jagatguru.

These cordial relations continued even after the rise of Shivaji who never departed from this moral code and did not molest Muslim shrines or places of worship. Like the Adil Shahi kings, he employed large number of Muslims in the army.

As already mentioned, the Adil Shahi sultans did not interfere in the life of the Hindus who carried on their allocations without any hindrance. The caste system was observed rigorously and Brahman.

The priestly class, enjoyed special privileges. They wielded great authority among Hindus who depended upon them for the performance of their religious ceremonies. They also acted as physicians. Their methods, as pointed by a contemporary traveller, Dr. A. Dellon, "A Voyage to East India" were crude. They usually prescribed some herbs whose medicinal value they were quite aware.

The sports, games and pastimes of the people were similar to those in vogue in other parts of the country. Cock fighting various games of gulis were common. Snake-charmers, acrobates and wandering herds entertained the people with their performances. The latter class recited stories from the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Puranas. There was also Ramlila and Krishanlila which theatrically depicted some scenes from these two great epics. Annual fairs or melas served as source of recreation for a large majority of the people particularly in the rural areas. Kirtans among Hindus were quite common. It was attended by friends and relations. Urs among Muslims which was held around the tomb of a saint provided the much sought after occasion for meeting friends and relations.

Poor people of different communities dressed very much alike and so did the rich. The poor contented themselves with a piece of cloth wrapped round their waist. Nizam-ud-din in his *Tabaqai-i-Akbari* mentions that men and women in the Deccan wore a "cloth wound about their middle without any more apparel." Women were also poorly dressed. Firishta writes: "Here in the Deccan and Goldkonda men and women do go with a cloth wound about their middle without any more apparel." The higher classes were much better dressed. The Muslims who came from colder regions were accustomed to wear the dress in vogue in their countries. It consisted of tight trousers, a shirt and a long coat or qaba which came down to the ankles. They used two pieces of cloth—one was used as a belt and the other was thrown over the shoulders. Turban was used as a headdress. The Marathas followed the Muslim mode of dress. Brahmans wore a long Muslim coat called angarkha, a long piece of cloth was thrown round their shoulder. They invariably put on a turban. The French traveller Francois Pyrard (1608-9) saw Brahmans of Calicut put on brown slippers "much pointed in front, the point raised high with the knot of the same leather in winter" and used wooden sandals in summer. Most of the people, however, went bare-footed.

Early Tamil works refer to the various cosmetics used by women such as applying of collyrium to the eye-lids, oil bath once in four days, daubing the sandal-cum-saffron paste upon the breasts and the shoulders of the young maiden, etc. Women of higher classes bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Nose rings, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, etc. were worn. Sometimes the ornaments were made of elephants tusks or ivory. The poor used glass bangles instead of gold. Even men adorned themselves with ear and finger rings.

No traveller has a good word to say about the houses of the lower classes. These have generally been described as thatched huts without any cellars and windows. Each hut has only one apartment. The addition of a second hut and a granary was considered as making of a house a comfortable abode. The floors of the houses were of pounded earth spread over with cow-dung. Pietro Della Valle in 1623 observed that cow-dung was preventive against plague and other diseases and insects. These houses were usually made of straw and mud but the wood of coconut was used wherever it was available particularly in coastal areas. The houses of the high officials and wealthy merchants were well built and were tastefully furnished. In Malabar, the houses of the rich were built of teakwood and consisted of not more than two storeys. In front of the lower storey, there was a small hall which served as a verandah or parlour. The upper storey was used for study as a bed room or for any other private work. Bartolomeo saw several houses which were 400 years old and had no suffered any decay.

Most of the Hindus particularly Brahmans and Banias were vegetarians. Their staple diet rice, jowar, millets, vegetables, pulses, etc. Though Hindus were not forbidden to take meat, majority of them abstained from it on sentimental grounds. Muslims took meat frequently. Fish was in abundance in Konkan and coastal areas and was taken by the people with rice. They also salted it for preservation and ate it. Pickles and preserves of various kinds were used by the people. Local fruits were in abundance and were taken by the people in season.

The utensils used in kitchens as plates, cups, glasses, etc. were all made of brass or bronze as they had to be scrubbed clean everytime they were used. In case of ordinary people pattals *i.e.* the leaves of the trees stitched together with rushes, were placed before them to serve as plates. The diner rubbed the pattal with a little salt and butter over

which were poured rice, boiled without salt. With some vegetables and curd. As soon as diners had finished their meals, the leaves were removed and the ground rubbed afresh. Muslims made use of metal utensils. The rich used chinaware.

It was customary among all classes of people to serve pan or betel leaf after meals. The pan consisted of the betel leaf, an areca-nut or supari cut into small pieces, lime water and kattha. Betel was necessarily chewed after meals but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day.

Tea and coffee were also taken by quite a good number of people especially those of the Coromandel coast. The traveller Ovington in his "A Voyage to the East Indies" observes that tea was taken by the banias without sugar or mixed with a small quantity of conserved lemons.

The condition of the lower classes—the peasants, petty shopkeepers, skilled workers, peons, servants and slaves was hard. The contemporary evidence of both foreign and Indian chronicles is clear and precise on this point. They could not afford to have sufficient clothing. Their housing condition, according to foreign travellers, was miserable. Varthema, Nuniz and several other travellers who visited south India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries speak about the poverty and the distress of ryots. The raids of the Mughals, the Marathas and constant fear of wars coupled with famines reduced the peasants to a miserable plight.

The upper classes, the high officials, the local chieftains, and the big merchants were very wealthy and lived lavishly. The Portuguese merchant traveller Barbosa observed that the upper classes of Malabar "are a luxurious people who eat and drink a good deal and have other bad habits." Paes and Nitikin testify to the luxurious life led by the aristocracy in South India particularly Vijayanagar.

The middle class of zamindars, merchants, money-lenders and the learned professions consisting of physicians, teachers, qazis, etc. were well off. They spent lavishly on their dress and wore ornaments. Abdur Razak who visited Deccan in the fifteenth century bears testimony to the prosperity of these classes of people particularly in Vijayanagar Empire. Most of the people, according to the traveller, wore jewels and ornaments.

Industries

Bijapur had flourishing textile industry. Calicoes and muslins were the important varieties of cloth produced in Deccan. The khasa variety of Deccan was famous throughout India. The Calicut cloth was so fine that one seemed to be naked even if one had it on. Publicat and Kan-pamei (Coimbatore) were great centres of cotton manufacture in the South. The weaving industry centres were at Dabhol, Rajapur and Chaul, on the Konkan coast, and at Hubli and Lakshmeshwar. Saris and other varieties of cloth were produced around Dharwar. The cotton cloth of this region was in great demand in Persia, Arabia and some parts of East Africa. According to Moreland in "From Akbar to Aurangzeb," calicoe, pepper and muslin were exported from Coromandel coast to Malaca and beyond.

Saltpetre and borax were produced in sufficient quantities in different parts of the kingdom. These were exported from Raibagh. Iron and saltpetre were imported by Bijapur and exported to other countries. The coastal traffic of Coromandel as well as of Vijayanagar was carried on by the merchants of Malabar. The imports consisted of arcanut, coconut, pepper, palm sugar. Combay clothes and horses and the exports comprised of rice and cloth. There was a great demand for precious stones in Vijayanagar which imported diamonds from Golkonda and Bijapur. The latter.....15 diamonds mines, important of them were situated near Ramalakota.... Diamonds were of excellent crystalline water but in size and weight they could not be matched with those of Golkonda. Gujarat merchants were engaged in this industry. Though the mines were the property of the king but they were leased out to those merchants who exported the finished products to different parts of the country and abroad.

V**QUTB SHAHI**

The dress of Hindus and Muslims was usually the same as in other Deccan kingdoms. However, the impact of Vijayanagar and later on the Mughals led to the adoption of kulah and qaba by both the communities at least in the urban areas. Women wore longer saris (6 yards) than their counterparts in other Deccan states. Due to the impact of the north ladies put on dupattas and trousers. Ornaments were worn by women as well as men. Women bedecked themselves with all sorts

of ornaments such as necklaces, finger rings, bazubands (armlets), churis, nose rings, gold or silver waistbands, etc. Some of them wore 6 to 7 ear-rings. Men usually wore ear-rings and even strings of pearls around their necks, if they could afford.

Mode of Travel

The poor people used oxen while the rich and the middle class rode on horses. Palanquins of various types richly decorated were also used by the rich when they wanted to travel in comfort. There were no vehicles drawn by horses.

Several festivals particularly those connected with the shia faith were celebrated with great enthusiasm. The martyrdom of Imam Husain and Prophet's birthday, were the most important. Drinking of wine, partaking of meat, cutting of hair, etc. were strictly prohibited during Muharram. Hindus also joined the Muslims and abstained from all the prohibited things during the first ten days of Muharram which were regarded as sacred. The birthday of the king was celebrated on a grand scale by all the people inhabiting the kingdom.

Diamonds: The biggest industry was, of course, the diamond mines which were located at Kolar. The Qutb Shahi kings would let out the mines on contract. Usually, the rate was 3 lakh pagodas or huns for small diamonds. A much higher rate was charged for bigger diamonds. According to the traveller Tavernier, the rare diamond which Mir Jumla presented to Aurangzeb weighed 900 carats. The world famous Koh-i-Nur diamond, too, was product of these mines. It is said to have been presented by Mir Jumla to Shahjahan.

These mines were a major source of income to the Qutb Shahi kings. Tavernier who visited Kolar mines during this period, found thirty thousand persons working there.

Textiles: The main centres of manufacture of various types of fine cotton cloth were at Srikakulam, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Pulicat. Masulipatam was famous for a special variety of cloth which was painted with a pen. Fine muslin was manufactured at Srikakulam. It compared favourably with famous Dacca muslin. The fine cotton cloth was in great demand in Europe and was exported in large quantities by the Dutch who had also set up a factory at Pulicat. In fact, the whole coast was studded with factories big or small.

Ship Building: Narasapur Peta was a big centre of ship building

industry. The material for building ships such as iron and wood was available in plenty in the vicinity.

There were many other industries. Swords, daggers, knives, etc. were manufactured at Indalwai. It was possible due to the availability of iron in large quantities in Kalaghat hills.

Imports and Exports

We have already referred to the export of textiles in large quantities to Europe through the Dutch. Diamonds and other precious and semi-precious stones were also exported. Besides the inland trade with the Mughal dominions, there were imports of various commodities from abroad. It included horses from Arabia and Persia, lead from England, broad cloth from France, dried fruits from Bukhara and Persia, porcelain from China, and cloves and cinnamon from Ceylon.

Price and Wages

The prices of the essential commodities were cheaper. For example, rice sold at 40 to 60 seers, per rupee. A maund was equal to 25 lb. to 26 lb. The price of both ghee and wheat was 20 seers for a rupee. Sugar sold at Rs. 14.64 per maund of 17 seers.

Wages

The wages of the skilled workmen such as blacksmiths and goldsmiths were 3 pence a day while a domestic servant got a penny a day. The salary paid to the government of Masulipatam and Nizampatam, varied between 5000 to 8000 pagodas per annum.

VI

MARATHAS

The social life and organisation of the Marathas has been greatly influenced by the topography and climatic conditions of their homeland Maharashtra. The rough and rugged nature of the country spread all over with hills and thick forests coupled with precarious rainfall, made inhabitants of this place hardy, simple, self-reliant and courageous. The difficult terrain of the region and its isolation from other parts of the country due to the hilly ranges also made them self-centred, even parochial in outlook. But at the same time it bestowed on them the virtues of social equality and pride in dignity of man.

There were two types of people who occupied the western part of Deccan when Shivaji unfurled the banner of revolt against the fanatical policies of Akbar. Shivaji was a practical statesman and followed the ideal of Sulh-i-kul or universal peace. His policy of toleration was extended to all subjects without any difference of caste or creed.

Shivaji was a practical administrator. He did not interfere with the social organization of the Marathas which stood on the twin rocks of the religion of the overwhelming majority of the people. Along with the caste system and the village. Unlike other parts of the country, Hindu society in the Deccan was not divided into four main castes namely the brahmans, the kshatriyas, the vaishyas and the sudras. There were only two major castes, the priestly class of brahmans and the untouchables who were known as mahars. The rest of the population, which was mostly engaged in agriculture, was known by the general term Marathas. There were, of course, some tribes such as Bhils, Kolis, Ramoshis, Varlis and Karkaris but they lived mostly in jungles and did not properly form a part of the prevailing society.

A very small section of the Brahmins, who devoted themselves exclusively to the religious duties, were held in high esteem and enjoyed special privilege. Many other were employed in government service. As most of the people were illiterate, the Brahmins, though forming a very small percentage of the population, were appointed to various administrative posts—from village accountant to dewans to ministers and local chieftains. Of the two sects of Brahmins, the deshastha enjoyed a preferential treatment during the time of Shivaji but after the rise of the Peshwa Balaji Visvanath, the chitpavans came into prominence.

The Marathas, the next class comprising the vast majority of the people, included peasants, gowals and shepherds. Excepting a few prominent families they were looked upon as sudras. Unlike other parts of the country, they did not suffer from any disabilities. On the other hand, it was beneficial to allow them sufficient freedom in their mode of living and conduct. For example, daily bathing and prayers were not binding on them. They were quite free to take food prepared by any of the other castes superior to them. They were all closely knit by common bonds of brotherhood. The rich and the poor spoke the same language and shared similar ideas and aspirations. To this class belonged the great soldiers such as Sindhia, Bhonsle and Gaikwad.

The trading group or vaishyas consisted of artisans and petty merchants. In fact, the carpenter, the barber, the fisherman and the smith were functional groups of the great Maratha community. There was a council of elders for each of these castes to look after their religion and moral conduct. Any deviation would bring strictures from the council. In case of any caste disputes. The matters were referred to the Brahma Sabha of a holy place like Nasik, Paithan or Wai.

Mahars formed the lowest rung of the society. Their duties were of menial nature such as those of sweepers, watchman, harkaras, etc.

The land in the village or gaon was divided into fields which were cultivated by the peasants—*mirasdars* or *upris*. The farmer held the land in heredity while the latter were merely tenants at will. They cultivated land on lease basis. The artisan and *parit* (washerman) perhaps got regular allowance for the services rendered to the village cultivators. There were also the carpenter, *lohar* or smith and *chambahar* who made leather buckets, ropes, etc. and also repaired footwear. Each of them was entitled to the privilege of sowing in every farmer's field a strip of land. The *kumbahar* (potter) supplied the villagers with earthenware and received in return wheat for subsistence.

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